

# TIME

## Who's Afraid of Elizabeth Warren?

She's hounding  
Obama, haunting  
Hillary and paving  
the way for Bernie  
Sanders. How she'll  
shape the 2016 race

BY MICHAEL SCHERER



## Cover Story

# Leftward Ho!

Elizabeth Warren, Bernie Sanders and the populist fury animating the Democratic Party **By Michael Scherer p. 40**



Senator Elizabeth Warren at the Bluebonnet Diner in Northampton, Mass.

## Greece Tempts the Fates

The country's voters have rejected an E.U. bailout. Now what?

**By Simon Shuster p. 34**

## Reddit Reboots

The self-styled "front page of the Internet" comes of age—and has an identity crisis

**By Matt Vella p. 46**

## The Path to Pluto

After a nine-year journey, a NASA space probe is set to examine a distant, icy world

**By Michael D. Lemonick p. 52**

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Photograph by Marco Grob for TIME

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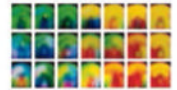
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## NICE THREADS

*See the Great. Feel the Great.*

It's the warmth of beautifully stitched genuine leather that fits the hand naturally. It's a 5.5" IPS Quantum QuadHD display and 16 MP camera with an f/1.8 lens underneath it. It's a smartphone that performs as beautifully as it looks. It's the all-new G4 from LG.

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# The space-TIME continuum

SPACE TRAVEL LOOKS LIKE FUN—WHAT WITH weightlessness and the views—but it can be murder on the human body. In the absence of gravity, muscles, bones, the heart and even the eyes can suffer damage. That's why it's so remarkable that astronaut Scott Kelly and cosmonaut Mikhail Kornienko have committed to spending a year aboard the International Space Station to help run the biomedical studies that will determine whether humans are capable of making a 2½-year journey to Mars. TIME is covering their marathon mission, in the magazine and in a yearlong video series called *A Year in Space*, the first two episodes of which were released on July 8 on [time.com/space](http://time.com/space).

TIME editor at large Jeffrey Kluger and senior multimedia editor Jonathan Woods, working with director Shaul Schwarz and co-director Marco Grob, have spent the past nine months following Scott's preparation for his March 27 takeoff and his experiences in orbit. Scott's identical twin brother Mark, a retired astronaut, is serving as a perfect control subject for the year-in-space study—a man with a genetic template identical to Scott's, who is spending a year growing older on Earth while his brother grows older in space.

"The twins study was too serendipitous an opportunity for NASA to pass up," says Kluger. It makes for good storytelling too. "We've been trusted to have our cameras in places they don't usually go," says Woods, "and what we deliver based on that trust will be a rare first account of an unprecedented mission." The mission has a bit of serendipitous timing for TIME too, as *A Year in Space* launches just a week before the New Horizons space probe (page 52) is set to make its historic rendezvous with the dwarf planet Pluto. Space is vast—but not too vast to cover.

Nancy Gibbs, EDITOR

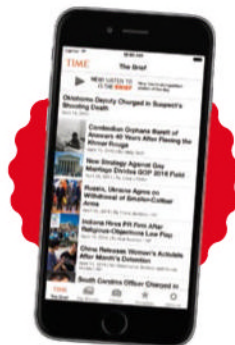


**NOW PLAYING** What's it like to say goodbye to your family for a yearlong mission in space? Astronaut Scott Kelly—below left, with twin brother Mark at a TIME photo shoot in Houston in December—faces that question in "Leaving Home," the first episode of our original video series *A Year in Space*. "I call him much more when I'm in space than I do on Earth," Scott says of Mark, "because you just feel like you're so far away." See more at [time.com/space](http://time.com/space).



## BONUS TIME

Our updated iPhone app offers easy access to TIME's award-winning daily newsletter, The Brief, including an audio version for your commute, plus great video and photos. Get it at [time.com/app](http://time.com/app).



**THE BEST OF 2015 (SO FAR)** Just over six months into 2015 and we already have plenty of blockbusters, TV shows and pop tunes worth digesting. TIME has picked the best of the year's productions so far, with high marks going to *Mad Max: Fury Road*, FX's series *The Americans* and the electro-pop dance hit "King" by British trio Years & Years. Find the rest on [time.com/2015best](http://time.com/2015best).

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# Lewis & Clark

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**Let's  
Go  
Places**



# 'We proved ... that democracy won't be blackmailed.'

ALEXIS TSIPRAS, Greek Prime Minister, celebrating his country's rejection of further economic austerity in exchange for another bailout from Europe



62

Number of hot dogs eaten by Matt Stonie at the Nathan's Hot Dog Eating Contest, dethroning Joey Chestnut, who ate 60, just missing his ninth consecutive title



28

Miles (45 km) that a cat traveled from Pennsylvania to New Jersey in a pickup truck's engine compartment

## 'WE JUST MADE HISTORY.'

CARLI LLOYD, soccer star, after her hat trick lifted the U.S. to the women's World Cup championship, a record third World Cup title for the team and its first since 1999



**Mike Trout**  
The Angels outfielder was selected for the All-Star team



GOOD WEEK  
BAD WEEK

**Magic Mike XXL**  
The Channing Tatum sequel earned just \$27 million in its debut

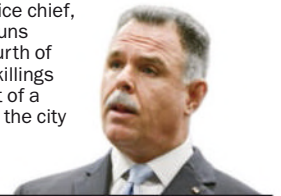


'I COULD NOT LOOK MY KIDS IN THE FACE AND JUSTIFY THAT FLAG ANYMORE.'

NIKKI HALEY, South Carolina governor, saying the deadly shooting at a black church in Charleston changed her view on displaying the Confederate flag outside the state capitol; the state senate voted July 7 to remove the flag

## 'We need some help here.'

GARRY MCCARTHY, Chicago police chief, decrying the steady influx of guns into the city, after a bloody Fourth of July weekend that saw seven killings in just two days, including that of a 7-year-old boy; violent crime in the city has surged in recent weeks



83%

Proportion of health care workers who acknowledged in a new survey that they have gone to work when they were sick



## 'We don't have to be imprisoned by the past.'

PRESIDENT OBAMA, announcing that the U.S. and Cuba are reopening embassies in each other's countries after more than half a century of hostility



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CLASS OF  
4<sup>TH</sup> GRADERS

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April 2014

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# The Brief

'I VIEW THE NYPD TO BE THE SECOND BEST INTELLIGENCE ORGANIZATION IN THE COUNTRY.' —PAGE 18



*Trump stands in front of a statue of actor John Wayne at a June 27 campaign event in Iowa*

## POLITICS

### Trump's campaign is a major win—for Democrats

By David Von Drehle

DONALD TRUMP HAS BEEN TEASING about running for President for so long that the joke had begun to grow stale, like the uncle who keeps asking you to pull his finger. But the real estate mogul and proto-Kardashian stopped teasing this year and actually entered the race. Now he is discovering that it's no laughing matter.

Trump's marathon speech on the streets of Manhattan announcing his candidacy in June contained large dollops of self-flattery ("I will be the greatest jobs President that God ever created") and his trademark bluster. (Trump not only promised to build "a great, great wall" along the Mexican border, but he also pledged to make Mexico pay the bill.)

Where the riffing demagogue got into trouble was with his characteriza-

tion of undocumented immigrants. "They're sending people that have lots of problems, and they're bringing those problems with [them]," Trump declared. "They're bringing drugs. They're bringing crime. They're rapists. And some, I assume, are good people!"

For a GOP in need of Latino votes, Trump's campaign is immensely dispiriting. Marco Rubio called his comments "outrageous." Jeb Bush went with "extraordinarily ugly." But in the crowded field of Republican hopefuls, where candidates are scraping for each incremental percentage point in hopes of climbing into double digits, some were willing to cozy up to the fire. "I salute Donald Trump," said Senator Ted Cruz.

Trump, whose grandfather was an

immigrant—and, we assume, a good person—professed outrage when this sweeping stroke of the tar brush caused a long list of his business partners to drop him like a bad date. NBC Universal booted Trump from *The Celebrity Apprentice*, Univision axed broadcasts of Trump's beauty pageants, Macy's dumped his clothing and fragrance brand, Serta dropped the Trump line of mattresses, NASCAR scratched future visits to Trump properties, and the PGA relocated a golf tournament slated for a Trump course in California. Mayor Bill de Blasio of New York promised to find and whack any city arrangements with Trump that could possibly be severed.

Yes, mattresses.

Speaking politically, a Republican candidate with three marriages and a cantilevered comb-over probably can't afford to lose the golf demographic. Nor can any Republican expect to win a nationwide race without the NASCAR vote. But politics has never been Trump's Job One. He's in the brand-building business. According to his own back-of-the-envelope calculations of his net worth, Trump's name alone is worth more than \$3 billion. Watching the revenue streams drain away in a flood of lost millions as his golden *T* turned toxic, Trump may be wondering if there is

such a thing as bad publicity after all.

Why does this episode cost him, when so many Trump fiascos have died like bugs on the windshield of his racing ego? It wasn't simply his hypocrisy on immigration and trade. That was already known to Trump watchers. This supposed champion of American jobs behind protectionist walls was outed years ago for putting his name on clothing sewn in China, Bangladesh and even Mexico. Perhaps it was Trump's sheer mean-spiritedness—the fortunate heir to an eight- or nine-figure fortune casually slandering a population that includes busboys at his gilded hotels and workers on his tax-favored construction sites.

Trump pondered the reaction to his initial statement and decided that he was right all along. Adding another splash of gasoline, he opined that “tremendous infectious disease is pouring across the border.”

Naturally, Democrats are delighted. Trump is the Republican of their dreams: a grumpy, aging, hateful billionaire. “Feel the Bern” is the slogan of the day at massive rallies for Democratic insurgent Senator Bernie Sanders. But for liberals interested in holding the White House for four more years, there is a more promising alternative: “Run, Donald, run.”

## Who dumped Trump?



### NBC

The network fired Trump as host of *The Celebrity Apprentice* and severed its ties with the Trump-owned Miss Universe Organization, as did Univision.



### MACY'S

After the retailer stopped selling Trump's menswear line, including \$650 suits and \$65 ties, Trump's apparel-making partner, PVH Corp., said it would scale down production.



### CARLOS SLIM

The world's second richest man nixed a production deal with Trump through Slim's Ora TV. “Working with someone so closed-minded was not going to work,” his son-in-law and spokesman said.



### NASCAR

The organization said it would not have its end-of-season party at the Trump Doral Miami again. Camping World (the title sponsor of NASCAR's Truck Series) said it would boycott events with Trump's involvement.



### SERTA

The mattress giant will stop selling its line of Trump Home-branded products. According to a statement, “Serta values diversity and does not agree with ... recent statements made by Mr. Trump.”



## TRENDING



### BUSINESS

Uber **suspended its low-cost service in France** on July 3 after two of its executives were indicted on charges of helping unlicensed taxis bypass regulations. Taxi drivers in France staged violent protests against Uber in June.



### FASHION

Japanese retailer **Uniqlo has launched a new “modest wear collection”** in partnership with popular Muslim fashion blogger Hana Tajima. The collection features headscarves and kebayas, a blouse-and-dress combination common in parts of Southeast Asia.



### POLITICS

Afghan officials met for the first time with the Taliban in Pakistan on July 7 after months of efforts by Afghan President Ashraf Ghani to **kick-start a peace process**. Talks will resume after the holy month of Ramadan ends on July 17.



BY THE NUMBERS

## The economic toll of terrorism

The Tunisian resort city of Sousse is already suffering the economic impact of a June 26 terrorist attack that killed over 30 tourists. Travel agencies have slashed hotel and flight prices by half as tourists rethink their plans to visit Tunisia. Here, three data points that shed light on how a city like Sousse, whose economy depends on tourism, can expect to recover from a security crisis like this:

**34 months**

How long it took New York City hotel-occupancy rates to return to pre-9/11 levels after the 2001 attack on the World Trade Center. Madrid's hotels needed a year to recover from its 2004 train bombing, and London bounced back nine months after the 2005 attacks on public transport.



**8%**

The reduction in foreign-tourism income in Egypt in 2006, after the 2005 Sharm el-Sheikh attacks and the 2006 attack in the coastal city of Dahab killed and injured tourists from around the world.

A Tunisian National Guard officer on patrol

**37%**

The average discount offered by the majority of Bali hotels that slashed prices after bombings in 2002. After attacks in 2005, Bali ran a marketing campaign with the slogan "Our loss is your gain!" It worked; today Bali attracts over 3 million foreign visitors a year, up from 1.39 million in 2005.

—NAINA BAJEKAL



**LAI D TO REST** The bodies of bomb-blast victims are prepared for burial in the central Nigerian city of Jos on July 6, the day after two attacks on a restaurant and mosque left at least 44 people dead. No group has claimed responsibility for the blasts, but militant group Boko Haram has targeted the city before. There has been an upsurge in violence during Ramadan, which began June 17, with over 200 Nigerians killed in recent attacks. *Photograph by AFP/Getty Images*

POLL

DO YOU APPROVE OF U.S. LEADERSHIP?

Gallup asked that question of people in 135 countries. Here's how many said yes in a sampling of countries:



**81%**  
Senegal



**52%**  
France



**48%**  
Brazil



**25%**  
India



**4%**  
Russia

THE RISK REPORT

# For thrill seekers, two markets to watch

By Ian Bremmer

THERE ARE MANY WAYS ADRENALINE junkies can get their fix. Those not into sky-diving or bungee jumping can invest in Puerto Rico or play China's stock market.

**SHANGHAI SWINGS** The Shanghai Shenzhen CSI 300 Index is up 68% over the past 12 months. It's also down more than 30% over the past 30 days. This turmoil tells us little about the strength of China's economy, which continues to slow at a manageable pace. But it does say something about China's bid to reform its financial markets. Beijing wants equity markets to become a crucial source of finance for Chinese companies and an engine of rising living standards for ordinary citizens. To make this happen, the state has already loosened its grip on market operations. Retail investors can now buy or short shares, and foreign investors have new opportunities to share in the fun.

As recent losses mount, however, Beijing faces pressure to intervene. The party leadership knows that direct intervention to stabilize prices might not work. It could also create conditions for an even more frightening correction later, with consequences for pension and insurance funds. But letting the market crash would risk intense public anger and a lasting loss of confidence.

The leadership has already acted at the margin. The government has publicly backed a move by leading brokers to buy \$19 billion

in shares. State-owned pension funds have been instructed to hold their market positions. The government will probably maintain a freeze on IPOs and press other brokers and financial institutions to buy shares. Yet the volatility will likely continue. Investors can't count on courts for protection, and Chinese companies are not known for their transparency. The market will look mainly for signals from the government, delaying Beijing's moves to liberalize its financial system.

**PUERTO RICO IN THE DOLLAR ZONE** While the world has focused on Greece, Puerto Rico finds itself (at least) \$72 billion in debt, and Governor Alejandro García Padilla says this sum is "unpayable." As a commonwealth, it can't allow its municipalities to file for Chapter 9 bankruptcy to restructure debt. Like their counterparts in Athens, Puerto Rican officials should have seen this day coming. The island has been in recession for almost a decade. Just 40% of Puerto Rican adults participate in the workforce. More than 5% of the population has left in search of better opportunities on the mainland.

However, Greece owes money to many countries, institutions and investors. Virtually all of Puerto Rico's debt is held by Americans. And Greece might still go its own way, relieving other euro-zone countries of the need to finance an economy that won't be viable anytime soon. But there is no possibility of a "Prexit." Puerto Rico will not drop out of the "dollar zone," and it will continue to benefit from a federally funded social safety net—at a cost to U.S. taxpayers.

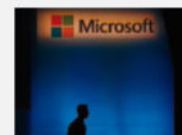
*Bremmer is the president of Eurasia Group, a political-risk consultancy*



**FINANCE**  
Technical "glitches" halted trading on the New York Stock Exchange for several hours on July 8, amplifying investor jitters in the wake of China's market free fall and the Greek debt crisis. For months, traders have been anticipating a global stock correction, hailing the end of the easy-money era. Now many have fresh questions about the vulnerability of the world's markets because of the increasingly complex systems on which they rely.



**IMMIGRATION**  
An undocumented immigrant who pleaded not guilty on July 7 to killing a woman at a tourist spot raised questions about San Francisco's "sanctuary" ordinance (along with those in other cities), which exempts city authorities from honoring federal detention requests.



**TECH**  
Microsoft announced on July 8 that it will cut up to 7,800 jobs. It's also taking a \$7.6 billion write-down on its Nokia mobile-phone business, likely as a result of tough competition from Apple and Google.

ROUNDUP

## Great government giveaways

The Dutch city of Utrecht will give unconditional monthly payments of about \$1,000 to select citizens starting in January 2016 to see whether "basic income" can work as a means of welfare. Various other governments have resorted to unusual handouts to achieve certain ends:

**DUBAI**

City officials tried to boost public transport in November by raffling off prizes, including 8.8-lb. gold bars to citizens in possession of a city travel card. Road traffic is a major problem in Dubai, where only 13% of people use public transport.

**SIBERIA**

On July 1, Russia's regional Kemerovo government declared plans to give a sheep and a ram to 500 large families to provide them with meat and wool, ensuring food security. Officials have also handed out 1,000 cows and 5,200 rabbits since 2009.



**AMSTERDAM**

The Dutch city paid homeless alcoholics in beer in 2013 as part of a novel street-cleaning initiative. Participants who collected litter for up to three days a week were given five cans of beer a day. Supporters liken the approach to methadone for heroin addicts.



## QUICK TALK

# The Dalai Lama

The spiritual leader of Tibet, also known as Tenzin Gyatso, chatted with TIME during a visit to Anaheim, Calif., on the morning of his 80th birthday.

**Some say that your message—which is cheerful and appeals to upper-middle-class Westerners—is counter to the more fraught situation on the ground in Tibet. How do you see that tension?** We are not representing, directly, inside Tibet. Many Tibetans have the opportunity to come to India and join our school, so then after they get some education level, they return. More of these connections are taking place on the personal, individual level.

**If you could meet Pope Francis, what would you talk with him about?**

Recently he also has been showing genuine concern about the environment. Wonderful. A spiritual leader should speak—these are global issues.

**How do you find a sense of purpose as you age, especially if you live in a Western society that values youth?**

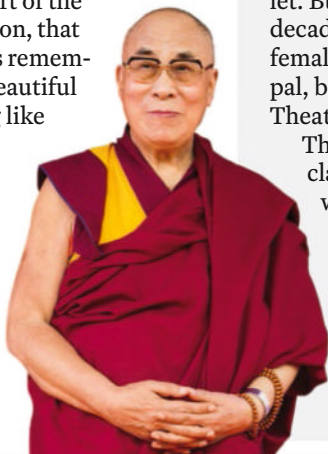
Getting older [is] its own beauty, more experience to share with other people. If you age but then still feel bitter because you are not able to do lots of things you could when you were young, that is silly, unrealistic.

**How do you heal a broken heart?**

Underlying strong attachment is a clinging, grasping ... that underpins hatred, anger, jealousy and so on. If you recognize that a large part of the [reaction] is perception, that could [help]. I always remember, in a dream, if a beautiful woman or something like that—I remember I am a monk. It is very helpful.

**And if you're not a monk?** The desire for sex ... always creates some trouble.

—ELIZABETH DIAS



## Milestones



*Copeland has danced with the American Ballet Theatre since 2001*

## NAMED

# Misty Copeland Principal dancer

MUSCULAR, CURVY, DARK-SKINNED. THESE are not the features the country's leading ballet company has typically seen in its top dancers. That is, until Misty Copeland jeté'd her way in.

Copeland, a TIME 100 honoree, is many things ballerinas are not and was told repeatedly that she didn't have the right body for ballet. But on June 30, the 32-year-old broke that decades-old stereotype and became the first female African American to be named a principal, ballet's highest rank, at the American Ballet Theatre (ABT).

The Missouri native didn't take her first ballet class until she was 13, while living in a motel with her single mother and five siblings.

Within months, she was dancing *en pointe*, and she later earned a summer scholarship to an ABT program. She soon leaped onto other stages, starring in a Prince video and an ad campaign for Under Armour. And in August she'll appear on Broadway, in *On the Town*. —ALICE PARK

## ADMITTED

By **Bill Cosby**, in a newly released 2005 deposition, that he obtained Quaaludes to give to women he wanted to have sex with. The testimony came in a lawsuit that was settled. Cosby has denied dozens of allegations of sexual misconduct.

## CLOSED

After 167 years, most of the famed **Chicago Mercantile Exchange** trading pits, where brokers still traded futures aloud, unlike most of their peers, who now use computers. Pits for S&P 500 futures and options on futures will remain open.

## SUSPENDED

Subway spokesman **Jared Fogle**'s relationship with the sandwich chain, hours after his home was inspected by police and FBI agents. He has not been arrested or charged with any crime.

## DIED

**Sir Nicholas Winton**, 106, who saved 669 mostly Jewish children from Czechoslovakia in 1939; they would likely have otherwise been sent to Nazi concentration camps.  
➤ **Jerry Weintraub**, 77, Hollywood producer behind successful films like the *Ocean's Eleven* and *Karate Kid* franchises.  
➤ **Burt Shavitz**, 80, a founder (and the face) of the Burt's Bees line of natural skin-care products.

## RESIGNED

**Donna Karan**, as the chief designer of her namesake fashion house. While she will remain on board with the company as an adviser, she'll spend more time working on her Urban Zen line.



# Is Bill de Blasio's NYC ready to stop terrorism in the age of ISIS?

By Karl Vick

PENDULUMS SWING, AND WHEN BILL DE BLASIO WAS running for mayor of New York City, one was going his way. A civil rights activist, the Democrat campaigned as a critic of the NYPD, finding fault with, among other things, its 1,000-officer counterterrorism division. Vaunted in security circles, the division was better known in some minority communities for an unsettling history of overreaching. Its demographics unit, which de Blasio shut down shortly after taking office in early 2014, sent undercover officers to eavesdrop on conversations in Muslim communities and maintained files on “ancestries of interest.”

Then ISIS appeared—half a world away but with a force that sent the pendulum careening back. Threat levels have gone up around the globe. And in America's largest city, a theoretical debate about the role of political leadership in combatting terrorism has assumed a sudden gravity, as experts ask whether under de Blasio New York City is still equipped to stop an attack that seems ever more possible.

It's not an entirely local matter. A similar debate is playing out in Washington, where the Patriot Act was allowed to expire in May. It was replaced with a less swaggering successor that put new restrictions on the National Security Agency. But it's different in New York City, and not only because responsibility for an attack—perhaps the lone-wolf brand analysts say may be impossible to prevent—will not be diffused among 535 voting members. One-third of Gotham's residents were born in another country. And the city's marquee status as a target is undimmed. While the number of plots uncovered by the NSA's bulk data collection totaled zero, since 9/11 the NYPD counts 24 plots it has been involved in stopping.

“New York's a special case. I view the NYPD to be the second best intelligence organization in the country—and I'm a former director of the CIA,” says Michael Hayden, who also ran the NSA. Now a security consultant at Chertoff Group, Hayden emphasizes that his glowing opinion of the NYPD was formed under de Blasio's predecessor, the independent Michael Bloomberg, and Bloomberg's police commissioner, Ray Kelly. “I thought a regime that was harshly criticized at the end of the Bloomberg-Kelly era had made New York measurably safer,” Hayden tells TIME. “If the Tsarnaev brothers were trying to do the New York Marathon, they wouldn't have gotten away with it, because the behavior that was exhibited in the mosques—the NYPD system would have picked it up, and they would have been in their net.”

**THE QUESTION CIRCULATING** in security circles in recent months has been: Is that still true under de Blasio? The verdict appears to be yes, but it can be hard to make out amid the new administration's efforts to smooth the counterterrorism operation's hard edges. For example, among the NYPD

**0**  
Number of terrorism plots uncovered by the National Security Agency's bulk collection of phone records since 9/11

**24**  
Number of terrorism plots targeting NYC since 9/11 that the NYPD was involved in thwarting



programs the new mayor ended was “mosque crawlers,” the inartful name for dispatching informants to houses of worship to watch for radicals. Stopping the use of “crawlers” and “rakers” was a move that, like the very public shuttering of the demographics unit, sent one signal to civil libertarians and another to security mavens. And some hawks were concerned that de Blasio's police commissioner, William Bratton, altered the organizational chart, blending into a single unit two bureaus, intelligence and counterterrorism, each of which formerly reported to its own deputy commissioner. Now they share one.

“They didn't rip things apart. They didn't shut things down. It was more subtle than that,” says a former senior NYPD officer in counterterrorism. “It was more a slower operational tempo.”

But looks can be deceiving—and in the realm of intelligence, sometimes they





◀ Mayor de Blasio, right, with police commissioner William Bratton at NYPD graduation

**I view the NYPD to be the second best intelligence organization in the country—and I'm a former director of the CIA.'**

MICHAEL HAYDEN, who also ran the NSA

have to be. Sensitive to public perception and embarrassed by media reports that put internal PowerPoints online, the NYPD started caring more about appearances. So while crawlers are gone, the division still keeps an eye on mosques through less intrusive methods. The demographics unit went away, but former U.S. House Intelligence Committee member Jane Harman, a Democrat, speaks admiringly of the NYPD program known as domain awareness, which she describes as “the neighborhood stuff.” The unified command encourages sharing with the FBI, and the NYPD recently

stationed a liaison in Australia, bringing its officers overseas to an even dozen.

“What programs has he stopped?” asks former NYPD counterterrorism commanding officer Michael O’Neil of de Blasio. “The critical-response vehicle, where they’re deploying counterterrorism assets around the city, I know it still exists.” As does almost every other program, according to security officials inside and outside the NYPD. Even critics say that at an operational level, the counterterrorism division continues to produce the “gold standard,” handling as many as 100 open cases a day with an agility that federal agencies, burdened as they are by bureaucracy, can admire but not duplicate.

“For the most part, Bill Bratton is continuing what went on before,” says Peter King, a Long Island Republican who chairs the U.S. House Intelligence Subcommittee. “They’re still very ag-

gressive.” Not that he absolves the liberal mayor. “I think it would be easier,” King adds, “if the mayor had been more publicly supportive.”

**IN THE END**, that may be the key difference. A softer tone does no favors for the NYPD’s efforts to deter attacks by projecting toughness. And insiders say counterterrorism operatives are especially attuned to the view at the top.

“Before 9/11, there was an expression, ‘If the seventh floor wasn’t enabling some risk taking, it wasn’t taken,’” says Frank Cilluffo, a former top State Department counterterrorism official, referring to the CIA director’s suite. “I’m not talking about cowboy-type risks. People need to know they’ve got their political leaders behind them. I think Bloomberg woke up every day thinking about these issues. I think de Blasio has come around, but he started off on the back foot.”

NYPD counterterrorism chief John Miller calls the mayor “fully supportive of everything we’re doing” and notes that the tempo is brisker than ever now that ISIS “has mass-marketed the idea of terrorism.” In response, de Blasio in June unveiled a city budget calling for 1,300 new officers to be added to the 35,000-strong NYPD. Of those, 300 would go to counterterrorism, trained for the kind of attacks seen in Paris and Mumbai. It also helps that the NYPD was alert to self-starting lone wolves long before ISIS exploited social media, when the division operated with a free-wheeling urgency that one former officer likened to the wartime OSS before it became the CIA.

“When we started counterterror, it was right after 9/11. We were really aggressive. People got it,” O’Neil says. Attitudes about surveillance have since grown more nuanced—something smart counterterrorism operatives ignore at their peril. Police, after all, need to build trust with their communities, especially the ones that might get wind of terrorism plots. “I think de Blasio’s moves could end up being a positive,” says Harman. Indeed, much is riding on it.

## When it comes to new ultra-tall towers, the sky is the limit

THE CHICAGO ARCHITECT ADRIAN Smith has made a career out of designing extreme skyscrapers, including the tallest building in the world today: Dubai's 2,722-ft. Burj Khalifa. But he's about to top himself. Smith and his partner Gordon Gill are behind Kingdom Tower, currently being constructed in Jidda, Saudi Arabia. When it opens in 2019, it will be the first building ever to exceed 1 km, or nearly 3,300 ft. Its vast interior will have 59 elevators—five of them double-deck so they can stop at two floors at once. It will have 157 occupiable floors and use about 80,000 tons of steel. Financed by the Saudi billionaire Prince Alwaleed bin Talal, the tower will anchor a new suburb of Jidda, called Kingdom City, which the Saudis hope will draw millions of pilgrims traveling to nearby Mecca and Medina.

Kingdom Tower is expected to cost \$1.23 billion, though it wouldn't be surprising if that number rises—the Burj cost \$1.5 billion. The building probably won't pay off financially—the Burj has had trouble filling its floors, and Saudi Arabia's economy has taken a hit from falling oil prices. But supertall towers generally aren't built for financial reasons. "Someone says, 'I just want to build it, and I am rich enough,'" says Smith. "It is for bragging rights."

So if there is no limit to human vanity, is there one for skyscrapers? Possibly not. Smith keeps a scale model of a building 1 mile high that he and his team recently designed. That is almost twice the height of the Burj Khalifa, or nearly four Empire State Buildings stacked on top of one another. It is hard to imagine anyone living at such altitudes, and Smith says the model was "pure research." Yet he concluded that if someone is willing to pay billions for it, a mile-high building is perfectly feasible. And if there's anything to be learned from the history of skyscrapers, it's this: if it can be built, it someday will.

—VIVIENNE WALT/DUBAI

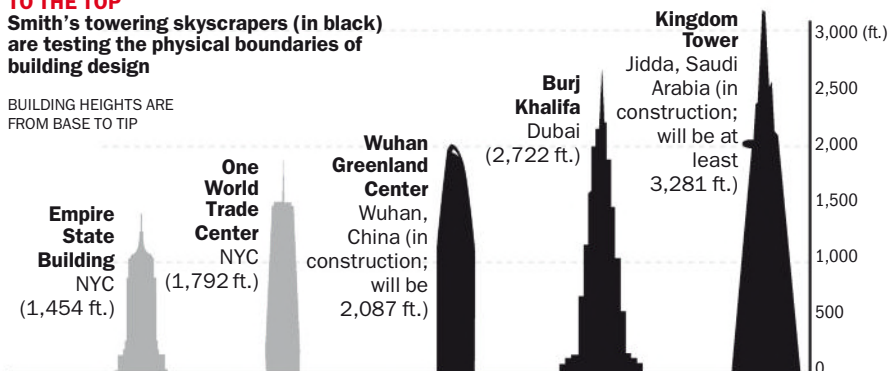


**Record breaker**  
The Kingdom Tower will have a sloping exterior, which will break up the dizzying vortex created when wind rushes up the sides of extremely tall skyscrapers

### TO THE TOP

Smith's towering skyscrapers (in black) are testing the physical boundaries of building design

BUILDING HEIGHTS ARE FROM BASE TO TIP







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## SPORTS

# Making soccer history

THE BALL LAUNCHED OFF CARLI Lloyd's right foot like a moonbeam from midfield, arcing across the turf in Vancouver until it slipped past the flailing Japanese goalkeeper and into the net. How could that happen? In this year's women's World Cup final, how could it not?

Spurred by the fastest hat trick in World Cup history from Lloyd, Team USA raced to a 4-0 advantage in the July 5 championship match and held on for a 5-2 victory. The win gave the U.S. its first title since 1999 and vanquished its bitter loss to Japan in the last World Cup final. But the blowout did more than make up for bad memories. For four weeks, the U.S. women turned soccer's marquee event into a showcase for stifling defense—at one point, the U.S. played 539 minutes without conceding a goal—along with unbridled enthusiasm and selfless teamwork. Replaced in the starting lineup by younger players, veteran stars like Abby Wambach recognized that the team they had built was safe among the sure feet of a new generation.

No surprise, then, that the final was the most watched soccer game in U.S. history. The 26.7 million people who tuned in shattered the record for a match by men or women, and New York City arranged for the team to get a ticker-tape parade. But leave it to scandal-plagued FIFA to dampen the spirit. The organization awarded the German soccer federation \$35 million for winning last year's men's World Cup. The U.S. women fetched just \$2 million for their triumph. Perhaps FIFA should have checked the TV ratings.

—SEAN GREGORY

*Carli Lloyd (10) celebrates after scoring in the World Cup final*

PHOTOGRAPH BY ERICH SCHLIEGEL—  
USA TODAY SPORTS

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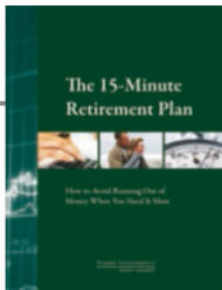
- The truth about how long your nest egg can last
- How much you can safely take as income each year
- How inflation can wreak havoc with your plan and how to deal with it
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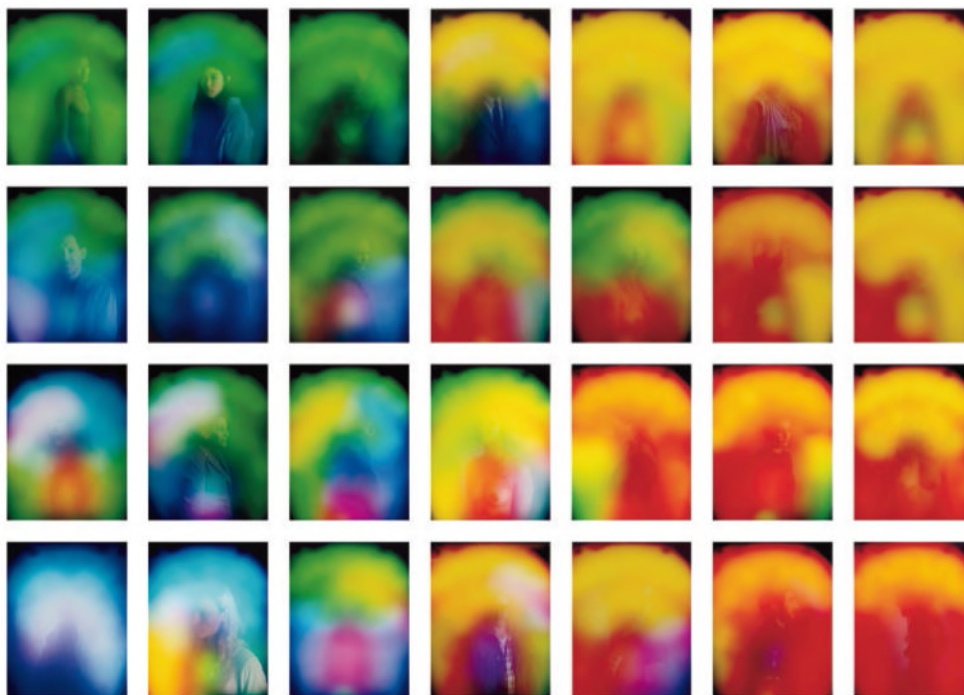
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# The View

IT'S TIME FOR THE GAMING INDUSTRY TO STOP ASSUMING HALF ITS MARKET SHARE IS INTERESTED ONLY IN SEX.' —PAGE 27



*Many millennials see themselves as postracial, but that can hinder discussions about race*



SOCIETY

## Millennials can't afford to be color-blind about race

By Victor Luckerson

BECAUSE WE HAVE BEEN TAUGHT TO believe in happy endings, it's easy for young people to view racism as a problem that will inevitably be solved or perhaps already has been. In the history books, racial progress for African Americans occurs on a comforting positive slope, evolving from slavery to Jim Crow discrimination to the post-civil-rights era of equality under the law. And in our own lifetimes, we reached a new racial milestone when Barack Obama became the U.S.'s first black President, thanks in large part to a groundswell of support from young voters of all races.

What the history books miss is that change rarely happens in an orderly fashion. There are fits and starts. There are retrenchments. There are debates. Change has to occur not only

on the macro level, in soaring proclamations by Presidents and civic leaders, but also on the micro level, through a shift in the thinking of everyday people. And big racial progress is always met with a measure of resistance—some of it passive, some of it active, some of it horrifically violent.

That is what happened in Charleston, S.C., last month. And it isn't going to stop just because an older generation passes away. Dylann Roof, the racist accused of murdering nine black people in a church, was only 21. While he doesn't reflect the attitude of most young people, it's now our collective responsibility to address the societal issues that allow such hate to flourish.

We millennials like to see ourselves as progressive or postracial. But that may actually make it harder for us to

have much needed discussions about race. In a 2014 survey by MTV, 91% of people ages 14 to 24 said they believed in racial equality and 72% said their generation believed in equality more than older Americans did. But only 37% of the respondents were raised in households that talked about race, and just 20% said they felt comfortable talking about biases against specific groups.

This is the crux of the problem. Many young people take “not seeing race” as a badge of honor that proves their progressivism and absolves them from engaging in discussions on the topic—even as racial rancor continues to play out in our streets, on social media and now even in our churches.

Thinking of yourself as color-blind can make it harder to see that America is a country riddled with systemic racial inequalities and that many are becoming more pronounced, not less. White households are now 13 times as wealthy as black ones, the largest gap since 1989. Blacks are 2½ times as likely as whites to be arrested for drug possession, even though about the same percentage of blacks and whites use drugs. And despite the promise of equal education enshrined 60 years ago by *Brown v. Board of Education*, more than a third of black students in the South now attend schools that are almost fully minority and are often doubly segregated by poverty. The challenges these kids face are virtually invisible to their white peers.

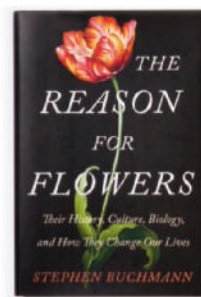
It's not enough to remove the Confederate flag from our statehouses or to assume that change will come when the next generation of more-open minds rises to power. According to surveys conducted by NORC at the University of Chicago from 2010 to 2014, 31% of white millennials rated blacks lazier than whites, just 1 percentage point less than Gen X-ers and 4 points less than baby boomers. Twenty-three percent of white millennials rated blacks less intelligent than whites, compared with 19% of Gen X-ers. At the same time, the litany of racist incidents at college campuses shows that outright racial cruelty is still far too common.

These aren't problems my generation can afford to ignore. As of 2014, the majority of children under 5 in the U.S. are nonwhite. By 2043, the majority of Americans will be. There are obvious financial and political dangers for people who deny these demographic shifts—just ask Donald Trump, who stands to lose millions after calling Mexican immigrants “rapists.” But there's a collective cost as well. A world where minorities lack the opportunities and protections that white people have will be a world of even higher incarceration rates, health care expenses and education inequality than the one we live in today. These economic penalties, in addition to the more obvious moral ones, will ultimately burden all of us, color-blind or not.

#### VERBATIM

**‘One day, I believe we’ll be able to send full rich thoughts to each other directly using technology.’**

MARK ZUCKERBERG, hinting that Facebook could enter the telepathy space in the very distant future. “You’ll just be able to think of something,” he added, “and your friends will immediately be able to experience it too.”



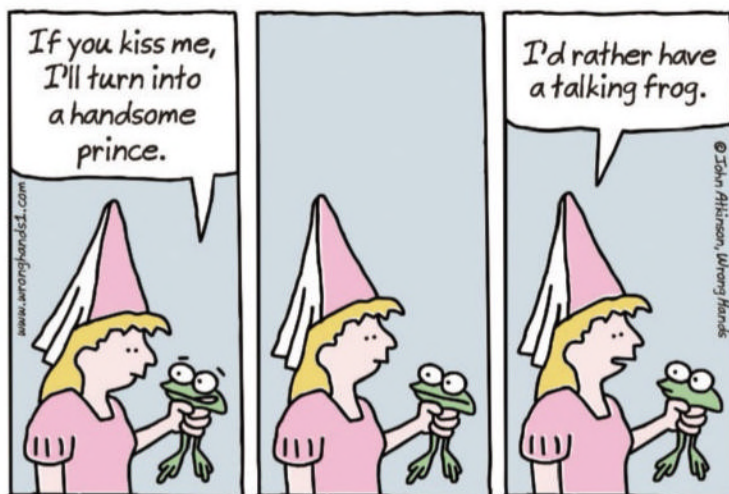
#### THE NUTSHELL

### **The Reason for Flowers**

Humans often use flowers as decorative accessories. But in this book, Stephen Buchmann, a professor of ecology at the University of Arizona, explains that they also serve other, more urgent purposes. Pollen traces, for example, are used to catch criminals. Chamomile and African marigold flowers are used to treat insomnia and skin infections, respectively. The flower business accounts for more than 5% of the Netherlands' GDP. And in Colombia, which provides 70% of the flowers that U.S. consumers buy, the industry employs at least 111,000 people. Of course, the most important reason for flowers is more straightforward: “Their fruits and seeds keep the world's 7.2 billion people from starvation,” Buchmann writes. —SARAH BEGLEY

#### CHARTOON

### **Reality tale**



JOHN ATKINSON, WRONG HANDS

ZUCKERBERG: GETTY IMAGES; LAD CUBES; SUN LEUNG



## BREAKTHROUGH

# The L3D cube

Brooklyn and Hong Kong-based tech firm Looking Glass raised more than \$250,000 on Kickstarter to build its L3D cube, a first-of-its-kind, wi-fi-enabled LED fixture. Here's how it works. —S.B.

1

Standard cubes measure about 8 cu. in. and contain 512 LED bulbs, working with a built-in processor

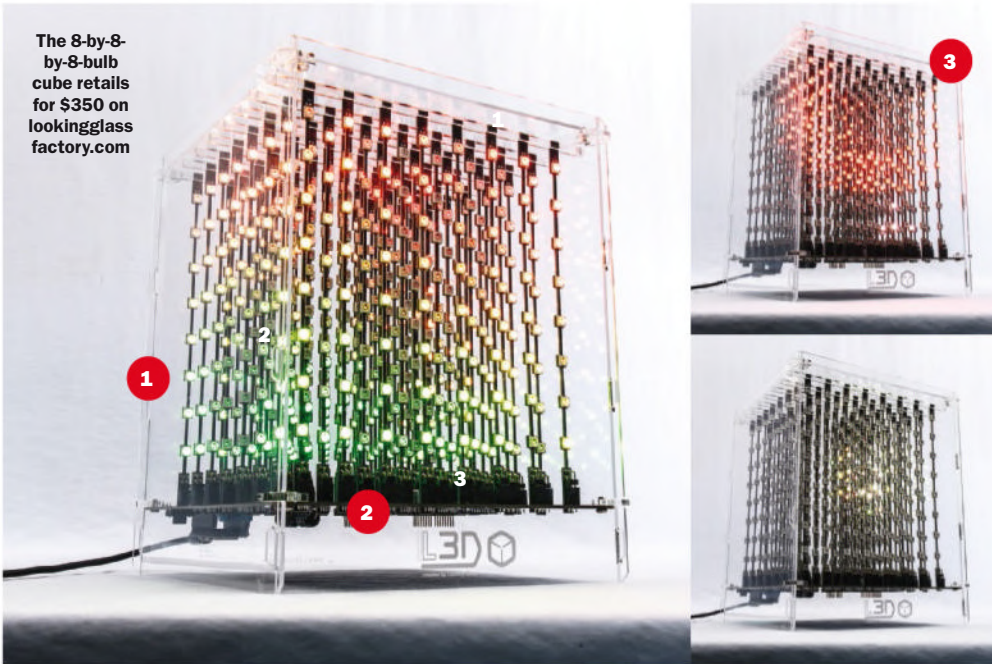
2

Users download apps (some created by other users) to enable various light displays, such as a 3-D game of snake or a fireworks display

3

Other apps sync with music in real time, allowing users to visualize beats in 3-D; colors too can change in tandem with volume

The 8-by-8-by-8-bulb cube retails for \$350 on [lookingglassfactory.com](http://lookingglassfactory.com)



## QUICK TAKE

# Why video games need more female heroes

By Rosalind Wiseman

SPEND TIME PLAYING SOME OF THE BLOCK-buster video games drawing fans to this year's Comic-Con in San Diego and a familiar trope emerges. Female characters are relegated to supporting roles, accessorizing battlefields and racetracks in skimpy, impractical, cleavage-baring outfits. This, gamemakers say, is what young gamers want: to play as virtual men and ogle virtual women.

They're wrong. My colleagues and I recently surveyed 1,400 middle- and high school students across the U.S. about their gaming habits. What we found upends the industry's tired stereotypes about gender.

Three-fourths of the boys we surveyed were not any more likely to play a game based on the gender of its protagonist. Of those who identified as "gamers," 55% said they wanted more female heroes. Moreover, 47% of middle-

school boys and 61% of high school boys indicated that, in general, female characters are treated too often as sex objects. As Theo, an eighth-grader, puts it, objectifying female characters "defeats the entire purpose of" games like *Mortal Kombat*, which is to fight.

And in growing numbers, it's women who are playing video games. Of the girls we surveyed, 36% played role-playing titles like *Grand Theft Auto* and 26% played shooters like *Call of Duty*. Roughly half of all fandom convention attendees are women.

It's time for the gaming industry to stop assuming that half its market share is interested only in sex—and that the other half isn't even playing.

Wiseman is the author of *Queen Bees & Wannabes* and *Masterminds & Wingmen*

## HOW TO WASTE LESS FOOD

According to a recent report, American households estimate that they toss at least \$640 worth of food each year, thanks in large part to spoiling that could be prevented.



### REFRIGERATE APPLES

They last 10 times as long if they are kept in the coolest part of the fridge; that's usually the bottom drawer.

### WASH BERRIES IN VINEGAR

Specifically, a vinegar-water mix (roughly 1 part to 3 parts). This extends their shelf life by several days.

### EMBRACE MOLDY CHEESE

On hard cheeses like Parmesan and cheddar, mold grows only on the surface; cutting it away and eating the rest is usually safe.

### PLACE EGGS FAR BACK IN THE FRIDGE

It's much cooler there (vs. a standard door shelf), which will help raw eggs keep for up to five weeks.

### UNDERSTAND EXPIRATION DATES

They're days by which the food is no longer considered fresh by the manufacturer, not days by which food is no longer safe to eat. In most cases, there's wiggle room for refrigerated goods.

—ALEXANDRA SIFFERLIN

## Tiger who? Jordan Spieth is golf's new rock star

THERE IS NO BETTER PLACE TO WRITE a new chapter in golf's rich history than the windswept links of St. Andrews, Scotland, the game's ancestral home. On July 16, Jordan Spieth, a mild-mannered 21-year-old Texan, will get his chance when he tees off at the British Open. He comes into the tournament having won this year's Masters and U.S. Open—the first time a player has won them back-to-back in 13 years. And he is the second youngest player to have won two major tournaments (see chart below). Should Spieth manage to beat the other 150-plus golfers on the rugged St. Andrews course, he would become the only person to win all three in a year besides Ben Hogan, in 1953. No one has ever swept those majors and the PGA Championship to complete a modern Grand Slam. “What he’s doing,” says Golf Channel analyst Brandel Chamblee, a former PGA pro, “is one of the most amazing, unprecedented things in the history of golf.”

And boy, does golf need it. For years, Tiger Woods could be counted on to contend for championships and command record crowds. But it's been almost six years since his personal life unraveled and took his game with it, and Woods' decline appears irreversible. Spieth would seem an unlikely candidate to fill his void. His game lacks sizzle: he rarely wows the fans in the gallery with big



*Spieth, 21, is the second youngest player to have won two major tournaments*

bomb drives or thrills them by taking too many risky shots. Nor is he a towering athlete or flashy dresser. The baby-faced Dallas resident is simply dependable, accurate in the rough and on the greens, and unflappable. “He’s like a Taurus who blows the Ferraris away,” says Chamblee. “You just don’t see it coming.”

Consider him the anti-Tiger. Spieth projects humility and rare loyalty. Case in point: instead of tuning up for the British in the U.K., Spieth honored his commitment to play the John Deere

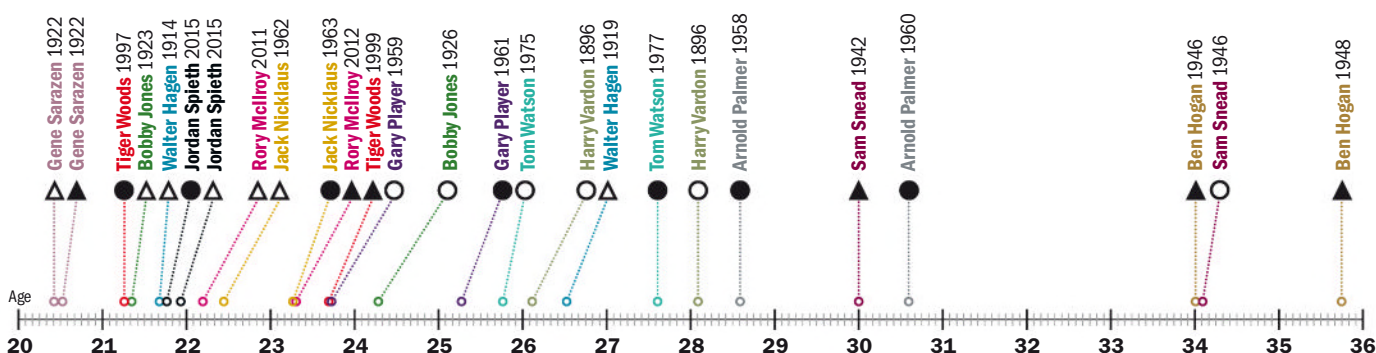
Classic in tiny Silvis, Ill., July 9–12, which has one of the smallest purses of any PGA tournament. Spieth did consider skipping the John Deere, which he won in 2013 to become the youngest PGA Tour winner in 82 years. “It was a short conversation,” his father Shawn tells TIME. “He’s relaxed and enjoying the run. He knows this is a really, really unique opportunity.”

The game’s next legend has arrived. And he can barely buy a beer.

—SEAN GREGORY

### HOW SPIETH STACKS UP

Eleven golfers have won at least seven career majors. Compared with those legends and the current world No. 1, Rory McIlroy, Jordan Spieth is the second youngest player to have won two major titles (nearly 100 years ago, Gene Sarazen won a pair before turning 21). Spieth will go for three when the British Open begins on July 16.







America is about to rediscover a land of enchantment.

**Let TIME be your guide.**

A woman in a blue tank top holds the Greek flag high in the air at night. The flag, with its characteristic blue and white stripes and a white cross on a blue square canton, is illuminated by warm streetlights. In the background, a large, classical-style building with many windows is visible, some of which are lit from within. The scene is set in a public square, with a crowd of people visible in the lower foreground, some holding up phones to capture the moment.

# GREECE TEMPTS THE FATES

After rejecting a new bailout,  
Greeks find themselves on the  
brink of an economic disaster

BY SIMON SHUSTER/ATHENS



*Greeks celebrate voters'  
rejection of an aid-for-cuts  
deal in Athens' Syntagma  
Square on July 5*



For a few hours on July 5, after a majority of Greek voters had rejected a bailout meant to save their economy, thousands of people celebrated in the streets of Athens as if they had just won a great victory rather than spurned a financial lifeline.

In the city's central Syntagma Square, Greeks set off fireworks and passed around bottles of ouzo and whiskey while vendors hawked souvlaki and blue-and-white-striped flags. Some of the revelers acknowledged the weirdness of the celebrations. "It's like dancing at your own funeral," said Christos Konstantinidis, an unemployed teacher. After years of belt-tightening and recession, the Greeks had just voted to stick it to their creditors, especially Germany, and forget about the fact that the Greek government owes those creditors more than \$300 billion. "Honestly, I don't care," said Prodromos Knoring, who was among the 61% of Greeks to vote no on the bailout. "We've had enough."

But if a primal scream felt cathartic on July 5, Greeks woke up the following day to a more painful reality. Their wobbly banks had almost no money left; their government had all but defaulted on its debt; their political leaders had few friends in power around the continent; and their nation was precipitously close to giving up the euro as its currency, a step toward more chronic shortages of imported medications, machinery and fuel.

The impact of the referendum was not felt by Greeks alone. Global markets shuddered, and Europe's leaders found themselves in a no-win situation: they could either cut Greece some slack on its vast debts and thereby weaken the rules-bound fabric of the currency union, or they could stand firm and watch the first exit from the euro zone by a member country, proof that the whole project of uniting Europe in an economic and political bloc simply has not worked very well. For the architects of a united Europe, who were driven in part by their desire to prevent a third great European war, the

departure of Greece from the euro zone and possibly even from the E.U. would represent a desperate collective failure.

But the immediate failure is Greece's alone. Its old habits of mass consumption and government waste have helped spawn lines at soup kitchens and unemployment offices around Athens' Omotia Square, the once bustling district for shoppers and tourists that has recently descended into depression and urban decay. Newer lines that formed outside the city's banks at the end of June, when people rushed to withdraw their savings before ATMs ran out of cash, were a painful reminder to locals of the deep hole that successive Greek governments have dug for their citizens.

Five years ago, the sight of healthy, working-age Greeks begging in the Athens subway would have been shocking. Now it is part of the daily commute for those lucky enough to still have a job. All this strain on society has already brought back the ghosts of a violent political past in a nation that emerged only two generations ago from a military dictatorship. In the annual press-freedom index compiled by the watchdog Reporters Without Borders, Greece has dropped 50 slots since the crisis started in 2009. Ominously, prosecutors in Athens have opened an investigation of how local media covered the referendum. If Greece drops the euro, the value of savings would likely get wiped out by hyperinflation. Any ensuing social turmoil could become an excuse for the government to curtail political freedoms. With all that, no wonder 81% of Greeks still want to remain in the euro zone.

Greece's new government, led by the 40-year-old firebrand Alexis Tsipras, has promised not to let them down.



"Greece wants to stay in," says Rania Antonopoulos, the Deputy Minister of Labor in charge of combatting unemployment. "But we cannot accept conditions that would bring about even more recession." Instead, Greece wants to try kick-starting its economy through massive amounts of government spending, which is mostly what got it into this mess in the first place. And that would mean persuading rich countries like Germany and the Netherlands to extend loans and grants to Greece without its enacting all of the cost-saving reforms those countries insist on seeing first. Even after the vote, when the Greek leader went to Brussels to cut a new deal, both sides were talking past—way past—each other. Exhausted European leaders drew up contingency plans for Greece crashing out of the euro, while





the Greek delegates arrived without a new proposal, smiled for the cameras and said they were confident of reaching an agreement. Any deal, if it comes, would be only a short-term fix. In the long run, Europe's leaders will have to find solutions to the deeper flaws built into their political and currency union.

**IF THAT SEEMS DAUNTING**, it is partly because the breach has been decades in the making. In the early 1990s, when Stefanos Manos served as Greece's Finance Minister and Minister of National Economy, he was among the first to see that the country was borrowing and spending fortunes that it could never repay. Other developed countries were also were taking on huge loans to fuel an economic boom. "The U.S. was using some of that

*Greek pensioners wait to receive payments outside a bank on July 1 in the northern city of Thessaloniki*

money to produce stuff, to innovate," says Manos. But "in Greece we produce practically nothing, and we were taking on massive debts just to live lavishly."

Armed with borrowed fortunes, a series of governments began hiring public employees by the hundreds of thousands and plying them with perks. Bonuses were handed out for arriving at work on time and knowing how to use a computer. Forestry workers got bonuses for the hardship of having to work outdoors. Each state employee got a yearly bonus worth two monthly paychecks, regardless of performance.

Greece's government, meanwhile, was as uninterested in collecting taxes as Greek citizens were in paying them. Greeks chronically underreported their earnings, and in the rare cases when they would get caught, an envelope of cash to the tax man would usually be enough to avoid punishment. Tryfon Alexiadis, deputy head of the Greek tax collectors' union, says the wealthiest citizens and the biggest companies were "untouchable" in Greece, because they could always put in a call to the Finance Ministry and ask for a break. Whenever election season came around, tax collectors were also told to take it easy on everyone else. "There was this unwritten rule not to have audits during elections," Alexiadis says. "People don't like it."

The political goal of all this, says

Manos, “was to keep armies of supporters relying on the system.” The state-run airline would hand out free tickets to voters before an election. The cost of running the state-run railway company became so high that Manos calculated that it would have been cheaper for the state to hire a taxi for every rail passenger. Manos says the lavish spending was part of the political credo of the times: Do not alienate voters by cutting benefits and salaries when Greece could just borrow more money to pay for more of both.

The arrival of the euro made it even easier to defend this logic. In 2001, Germany, France and nine other members of the E.U. allowed Greece to drop the drachma and instead share the benefits of a common currency. That made it even cheaper for Greece to borrow money.

Only in 2008, when the financial crisis dried up credit and European banks started to scrutinize clients more closely, did foreign creditors start to check whether Greece could afford its plush lifestyle or pay back any of its loans. Sure enough, the new government found a gigantic hole in its books when it took office the following year. Its predecessors had been misreporting a budget deficit of less than 4%, roughly in line with the European average. In fact, Greece was running a deficit of more than 14%, by far the highest in Europe. Subsequent audits discovered that the Greek government had for years been using faulty accounting to hide the extent of its profligacy. “As a country we basically lost our job at the same time as all of our credit cards were maxed out,” says Nikos Kontodimos, an accountant in Athens.

**FOR COUNTRIES THAT HAVE** their own currency, the typical response would be to print money to stimulate the economy. But by adopting the euro, Greece had ceded the right to print money to the European Central Bank, which was now forced to offer Greece a series of bailouts. Along with the International Monetary Fund and the E.U., the Central Bank provided emergency loans to prevent Greece from falling into bankruptcy in 2010 and to keep Greek banks from running out of cash and collapsing the following year. But the rescue from these institutions, which are collectively known as the

## PAINFUL CUTS

### WHAT GREEK AUSTERITY WOULD LOOK LIKE IN THE U.S.

In order to receive a bailout from international creditors in 2010, Greece had to implement steep cost-cutting, or austerity, measures. Here’s how the same kind of cuts would impact the U.S.

#### MINIMUM WAGE

In 2012, Greece lowered its minimum monthly wage by 22%. A similar cut in the U.S. would drop the hourly minimum wage from

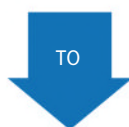
**\$7.25 to \$5.66**



#### GOVERNMENT SALARIES

Various measures in 2009 and 2010 meant Greek public-sector workers saw their take-home pay shrink by about 15%. If similar cuts were enacted in the U.S., the average government employee’s salary would fall from

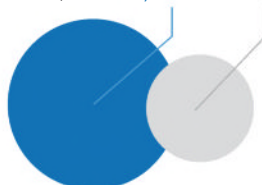
**\$51,340**



**\$43,639**

#### RETIREMENT

Greek retirees have seen a 38% decrease in state pension payments since 2009. A similar drop in Social Security payouts in the U.S. would see the average senior citizen receive less per month, from



SOURCES: REUTERS; U.K. LABOUR RESEARCH DEPARTMENT; U.S. BUREAU OF LABOR STATISTICS; AP; U.S. SOCIAL SECURITY ADMINISTRATION

troika, came with strict conditions: the Greek government would have to slash spending, raise taxes and impose massive layoffs in the public sector.

The creditors expected these measures to shrink the Greek economy by less than 6%. But the actual pain has been far worse. Economic output collapsed by a quarter. More than half of young people joined the ranks of the unemployed. A quarter-million civil servants were fired or voluntarily retired from 2009 to 2013. Nearly half of pensions were cut to below the poverty line. Private-sector wages were cut even deeper, encouraging people to retire early in order to draw a pension. The suicide rate jumped by more than a third.

In January, Greek voters elected the Syriza Party. Tsipras, their new Prime Minister, went straight to the troika and demanded that it forgive Greece’s debt, ease the terms of austerity and help pay for a stimulus program. But not only did the troika refuse to forgive any debt, it also demanded further austerity in exchange for any more assistance. Its offer came with a deadline of June 30, when Greece was due to make a loan payment that it could not afford.

On June 27, Tsipras called a referendum for July 5 that would let voters rule on the troika’s proposal, even though the offer was officially off the table after the expiration of the June 30 deadline. At a massive rally in central Athens on July 3, Tsipras described the vote in terms of national dignity and liberation. “I’m calling upon you to say no to ultimatums,” he told the crowd of thousands. “Turn your backs on those people that terrorize you on a daily basis!” The crowd roared in approval. Two days later, most Greek voters did as their Prime Minister requested and said no to their creditors. The rift between Greeks and their European brethren had never been wider.

**GREECE’S STRUGGLE** to hold on to its generous subsidies seems doomed no matter how negotiations go between Tsipras and any European leaders still willing to sit down with him. German Chancellor Angela Merkel refused to budge on demands for austerity after the referendum, though other European leaders showed a willingness to resume negotiations. Tsipras, too, stood firm on





▲  
*Prime Minister Alexis Tsipras, in Athens on July 3, won a victory at the polls and quickly sought a new deal with creditors*

his demand for debt relief even as he traveled to Brussels on July 7 to make his case to Europe's leaders for a new bailout. But if there is to be a new aid-for-cuts deal for Greece, it is likely to be on harsher, not easier, terms.

The intransigence of the Greek Prime Minister—now operating with the clear support of a majority of Greek voters—has Europe's leaders wondering whether a nation so accustomed to its social safety net can ever modernize. From one vantage point—the waters directly off the port of Piraeus in Athens—it can feel as if global economic forces have already brushed aside Greece's attempts to preserve its old ways. A few days before the referendum, the Greek shipping magnate Nicos Vernicos, a jovial man with the deep tan of a yachting enthusiast, took a reporter out on one of his tugboats to see the port, which is about 2,500 years old, roughly the same age as Greek democracy. Vernicos warned that the trip would offer as much a history lesson as a look into Greece's—and Europe's—future.

In 2009, when the Greek government was desperate for cash, it granted a Chinese firm a 35-year concession to operate two of the port's three shipping terminals, keeping one for itself. Since then the flood of merchandise from Asia has doubled the total volume of goods that goes through the port, even as the cargo

handled by the Greek-owned terminal has contracted by about two-thirds. The contrast between these competing operations does not bode well for southern Europe in a globalized world.

The Chinese section of the port is a frenetic hive of activity, with gigantic vessels moored at every dock and rows of freshly painted cranes unloading their containers. Right next door, the Greek terminal is empty except for one ship with a Panamanian flag. One of the reasons for the difference is the wage disparity. The workers on the Greek side get paid an average of \$45,000 in salary and benefits per year, says Vernicos, about triple what the Chinese-run terminals pay their local temporary workers, who get none of the benefits or job security Greeks have long taken for granted.

"We are the privileged ones," Vernicos says, glancing over at the tugboat's captain, a chain-smoking old sailor named Charalampos. "But my heart goes out to the young generation." They will never be able to compete in a globalized economy, he says, unless they invest heavily in the sort of innovation, education and

intellectual capital that can give them an edge. The cost of credit, however, will make that extremely difficult. And before those investments begin to pay off—assuming they eventually do—the countries of southern Europe will have to cut back on the high wages and generous benefits that previous generations have enjoyed. "We can't afford it anymore," says Vernicos.

Over the past five years, Greece has shown how painful that transition can be, and how fiercely the public defends its social welfare at the ballot box. But the prevailing political and economic forces in Brussels, Berlin and the Chinese-controlled parts of the port of Piraeus will continue to transform Europe and the world.

Taken together, the countries of the euro zone account for 12% of the global economy. Governments around the world use the euro to store their reserves. So even in a moment of unprecedented crisis, the bonds tying Europe's countries together are far stronger than the pressures driving them apart. Dismantling Europe's economic and political union would bring the kind of chaos that global recessions are made of. Even as Europe's internal rifts become more difficult—and much more expensive—to manage, Europeans know they're better off together. With or without Greece.







# UP WITH PEOPLE

**POPULIST FURY AND ECONOMIC ANXIETY  
ARE REMAKING DEMOCRATIC POLITICS.  
IT'S THE MESSAGE OF ELIZABETH WARREN**

**BY MICHAEL SCHERER**

*Massachusetts  
Senator Elizabeth  
Warren has led a  
liberal rebellion  
against President  
Obama and some of  
his economic advisers*

**PHOTOGRAPH BY  
DAMIAN DOVARGANES**

# B

BEGIN WITH THE ANONYMOUS PAMPHLETS left scattered amid the ketchup and mustard packets at Hillary Clinton's Fourth of July weekend rally in Hanover, N.H. "As Secretary of State, I saw how extreme economic inequality has corrupted other societies," the sheet read, quoting Clinton from a speech. Those words appeared just above the corporate logos of companies whose employees gave the most to Clinton's campaigns—JPMorgan Chase, Citigroup and Goldman Sachs, among others. A punch line followed: "Do you believe her?"

Now travel cross-country to Madison, Wis., where Bernie Sanders, a self-described revolutionary and socialist, attracted more than 10,000 people, or nearly twice as many as any other candidate so far in the 2016 cycle, to hear him denounce concentrated wealth and promise redistribution. They cheered his indictment of a growing oligarchy: 58% of new American income goes to the top 1%; the top 10th of the 1% have more wealth than the bottom 90%; the gap is wider than at any other point since 1928. "Too many Democrats are owned by Big Money interests!" he shouted. This time the punch line was in the polls: Sanders joined the Democratic Party in April, but his presidential campaign is now supported by almost 1 in 5 Democrats nationally—and a third of Democrats in New Hampshire and Iowa.

Finish at the White House, where a frustrated President Obama has spent the summer at war with his own party over how to write the rules of global trade. Trust me, he has said, to which Massachusetts Senator Elizabeth Warren answered immediately and emphatically: No. "He won't let you see the deal," she told thousands of progressive activists during a mass conference call in mid-June. "You know who does get to see the drafts of the trade deal? The big corporate interests."

In reply, Obama worked the dugouts at a congressional softball game, lobbied House Democrats in the U.S. Capitol and

denounced Warren for stealing his old transcendent golden-boy act. "Elizabeth is, you know, a politician like everyone else," he told a reporter in May. "Her arguments don't stand the test of fact and scrutiny." But he could not prevent the punch line: 78% of House Democrats and 73% of the Senate Democratic caucus initially voted against Obama, who prevailed only by restructuring the votes with the GOP.

There's something happening here. Not since Woodrow Wilson promised to break the "money monopoly" and Franklin Roosevelt hollered "I welcome their hatred" at the plutocrats has the Democratic Party found itself so inflamed against the intersection of wealth and power. The old arguments and alliances no longer hold sway and won't draw crowds. And the giants of the party now find their credentials, and motivations, under attack. "The Wall Street wing of the Democratic Party is shrinking quite dramatically," says Robert Reich, a former Labor Secretary under Bill Clinton. Business leaders in Washington take a more ominous view. "The Democratic Party is being polarized to the left, laying the groundwork for a Tea Party-like insurrection," explains Bruce Josten, a top lobbyist for the U.S. Chamber of Commerce. "It is a battle for the soul of the Democratic Party."

**THE NEW FIRE** is fueled by a shift in economics that feels like a crisis for many Americans and a clarion call for government action among liberals. Real wages have increased 138% for the top 1% of American income earners since 1979, but only 15% for the 90% below. From 2002 to 2013, the only groups of American households that did not see their real incomes on average decline or stagnate were headed by college graduates and young people in their 20s. At the same time, over a quarter-century, fixed costs such as housing, education and health care have outpaced inflation. Obama, after promising hope and fighting back from the Great Recession, will almost certainly leave office having failed in the central economic challenge of his time: raising incomes for the American middle class.

Into this vacuum, a new Democratic faction has emerged, led by Warren, a law professor who ran and won her first cam-



paign three years ago at the age of 63 with a mantra out of detective noir: "The game is rigged." A legal academic by training, a teacher by disposition and a pugilist to the core, she never sought politics as a career or party as an identity. Yet the party has congealed around her, making her one of its biggest grassroots fundraisers and most potent surrogates. When she headlined the annual Connecticut state party dinner in June, more people came than at any time since Obama spoke in 2006.

Her message, repeated with precision, is that both Republicans and Democrats have misread the economic challenge and been co-opted by the forces of greed. "The pressure on the middle class is not simply a natural force," she says. "It is the result of deliberate decisions made by the





leaders of this country.” America’s enemy, in other words, lurks within. “This is not a top-vs.-bottom story,” she continues. “This is a top-and-everyone-else story. This is a 90-10 story.”

The message travels easily, and Sanders, who has spent decades in Washington toiling at its margins, has volunteered to take it to the presidential stage. Two-thirds of Americans now believe that wealth should be more evenly distributed among more people, and an even greater share of the country supports raising taxes on those who make more than \$1 million. Among Democrats, nearly 90% believe that the government should do more to reduce the unequal distribution of wealth. “When I go out and talk, I am not teaching something people don’t

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*Vermont Senator Bernie Sanders  
drew a crowd of 10,000 supporters  
in Madison, Wis., on July 1*

know,” Warren says. “I am just giving words to what is already happening in their lives.”

The response can be measured beyond crowds and vote tallies. In the first few months of the campaign, Sanders received 250,000 donations. Most party elders believe Warren would have done even better had she chosen to seek the presidency. Last winter, in an attempt to nudge her in, Obama’s former online fundraising strategist Joe Rospars wrote Warren an unsolicited memo predicting, based on her past performance and current support, that she could raise more

than \$100 million online through the first quarter of 2016, more than enough to mount a serious challenge to Clinton. Warren declined the opportunity, deciding that she would accomplish more fighting in the Senate—and that change would eventually come at the top anyway. “America understands, and Washington needs to catch up to the rest of the country,” Warren says. “That will happen.”

**TO SEE WHERE** the battle lines are drawn, all you have to do is list the fights Warren has picked with her own party over the past year. In December she attacked the White House and Democratic leaders for agreeing to roll back limits on derivatives trading by federally insured banks, even calling out Obama’s current

and former advisers for their work with Citigroup, one of the major proponents of the change. She wants to break up the big banks, increase funding for Social Security and slow the revolving door between the White House and Wall Street. When Obama nominated a well-regarded Wall Street investment banker, Antonio Weiss, to the No. 3 spot at the Treasury, she announced “Enough is enough” and forced him to withdraw. When Larry Summers, a top economic aide to both Presidents Obama and Clinton and a former consultant to Citibank, seemed close to getting his dream job as Chairman of the Federal Reserve, Warren joined a Democratic mutiny and sank his chances. This summer she launched a broadside against Mary Jo White, Obama’s Securities and Exchange Commission chair, accusing White of slow-rolling new rulemaking for the finance industry, and highlighting the conflicts of interest caused by her husband, who works at a Wall Street law firm.

The backlash has been fierce, as many in her party warn in public and private that she risks overplaying her hand. “She is pushing the envelope, but there is a danger of going across the line,” says one longtime Democratic supporter of hers. House minority leader Nancy Pelosi says bluntly that Warren’s view of Obama as soft on Wall Street “is not the consensus in our party.” Warren’s targets are less delicate. “I don’t know if she fully understands the global banking system,” needles JPMorgan Chase CEO Jamie Dimon. Warren Buffett has suggested she be “less angry and demonizing.”

Obama talked about the middle-class squeeze as far back as 2005, and he shares much of Warren’s agenda, from increasing the minimum wage to expanding infrastructure investments and overtime pay. But the similarities break down over how far and fast to go in financial regulation and free-trade agreements. Back in the days when he was working as a community organizer in the shadow of Chicago’s shuttered steel mills, she dove into the records of America’s bankruptcy courts, studying the sharp rise in American debt defaults during the 1980s and ’90s. She concluded that the culpability lay not with the great weather systems of technological change and foreign competition but with a bipartisan American ruling class. “She figured out the finance



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*Hillary Clinton has adopted Warren’s populist rhetoric but not yet her anti-Wall Street policies*

piece of it before other people,” argues Simon Johnson, an MIT professor and former chief economist at the International Monetary Fund. The result was a different perspective. She also concluded that the party’s strong ties to Wall Street were not anodyne or manageable. They were the problem.

In mid-June, as lawmakers rushed to get out of town for the Fourth of July, I met with Warren in her Senate hideaway in the basement of the U.S. Capitol, a windowless room about the size of a janitor’s closet. Such spaces, unmarked and impossible to find without a guide, are handed out according to seniority. Maryland Senator Barbara Mikulski, for instance, boasts a fireplace in hers, and Ted Kennedy’s old hideaway, now occupied by Utah’s Orrin Hatch, features arched ceilings and a bird’s-eye view of the National Mall. Warren’s has the shape and feel of a shipping container, barely fitting two upholstered chairs, a lamp and a couch. “My theory is if we get two matching posters that are of the outside, it will feel to your brain like these are windows,” she said, pointing to the white plasterboard wall. “We’re going to pretend.”

Pretending is necessary because Warren, by disposition and age, has no plans to earn a real window. “I came knowing that large parts of what I understood

about how the Senate worked would never work for me,” she says. “I would not have that kind of time, but more importantly America’s middle class did not have that kind of time.”

**SHE WAS BORN** Elizabeth Ann Herring in Oklahoma, in a home haunted by economic hardship. Her father’s heart attack when she was 12 sent her family to the brink, forcing her mother to go back to work at Sears and Warren to work as a waitress in her aunt’s restaurant. From then on, her life story became fodder for a running debate she has with Minnesota’s Al Franken over who is the most unlikely Senator. He is a former comedian and *Saturday Night Live* writer, who helped invent the Coneheads, played a gorilla handler and impersonated Mick Jagger in a skintight tank top. “I usually can top Al by saying, ‘Please, I got married at 19 and dropped out of school,’” she says. From there, she steadily rose, juggling two young children with commuter college, law school, a divorce at 30, a law internship on Wall Street and eventually the life of an academic.

Warren came to Washington in 1995 as a scholar recruited by a Clinton Administration appointee for a blue-ribbon panel to study bankruptcy reform. The finance industry was pushing for legal changes that would make it harder to expunge debt, on the theory that too many Americans were gaming the system. Warren’s own research had found that the primary



triggers for bankruptcy were job loss and illness and that in many cases debtors were tricked into default by complex financial products and fraudulent sales tactics. “Here is this coalition of giant credit-card companies whose plan was to improve their bottom line by 1 or 2 percentage points by just steamrolling millions of American families,” she says.

Warren toiled for nearly a decade to defeat the bankers’ proposals, even recruiting then First Lady Hillary Clinton to join her effort. The fight ended in defeat in 2005, after Clinton, who had become a New York Senator, switched sides and voted to support the bill. “They really did shove it down my throat sideways. That’s how it worked,” Warren says. “And yet I couldn’t stop.”

She was recruited by Nevada Senator Harry Reid to run a congressional oversight panel for the 2008 bank bailouts and quickly made herself a vocal critic of the Treasury strategy, which focused on stabilizing the biggest banks before turning to the problem of homeowners who were being evicted. “The worldview is just different,” she says of Obama’s other economic advisers, whose careers had revolved around, and often passed through, the biggest banking institutions. “It’s like brains get wired differently over time.”

After she was elected to the Senate, she began laying out a far more radical vision, including an “aggressively progressive tax structure” that would tax earnings much higher for the wealthy whether they come as capital gains, equity grants or regular income. “You built a factory and it turned into something terrific or a great idea—God bless! Keep a hunk of it,” she said, in a candid moment from her 2012 campaign that went viral. “But part of the underlying social contract is you take a hunk of that and pay forward for the next kid who comes along.” The new rich, in other words, from Silicon Valley to New York, would need to share.

**THE QUESTION IS** no longer whether Warren’s agenda will change the Democratic Party but how dramatic the change will be. Obama, for his part, was an early supporter of Warren’s biggest success, the creation of a Consumer Financial Protection Bureau, and has been spending his final years in office doing what he can by executive action to tilt the field in favor of

wage labor. He has pushed for changes in how overtime is calculated, for instance, and promoted a new fiduciary rule that would require financial advisers to act in their clients’ best interests.

But the next party agenda will be the province of the Democrats’ 2016 nominee, and centrists have been rushing to propose their own set of reforms, retreating from the long-held view that loosening capitalism from regulation would unleash benefits for all. Brookings scholars Elaine Kamarck and Bill Galston, for instance, both veterans of the Wall Street-friendly Democratic Leadership Council, sent a clear signal to Clinton this summer when they proposed new curbs on executive compensation, stock buybacks and other forms of financialization that they argue have bled the economy of jobs.

Economists like Summers, who encouraged the banking deregulation of the 1990s as a way to increase growth, speak often now about targeted measures to rein in the “rents” accrued by the wealthy, like limits on intellectual property, stronger enforcement of antitrust laws and tax reforms to increase purchasing power at the bottom. At least in Democratic circles, the idea that economic inequality can be handled by taking steps to lift all boats no longer holds sway. “The old economic logic was you had to have growth in order to have a large middle class,” explains Reich, who now teaches at the University of California, Berkeley. Now, he says, the thinking has been reversed.

Clinton, for her part, has already adopted much of Warren’s language, attacking the idea in her campaign announcement speech that “if we let those at the top pay lower taxes and bend the rules, their success would trickle down to everyone else.” But a woman whose family finances and political fortunes have long

been entangled with the biggest Wall Street firms has not yet declared how far she is willing to take the party down the populist path, or whether she is willing to pay the price of cutting ties with some of her biggest backers. That’s partly because it remains unclear how well the new populism will play in a general election, in which the electorate is expected to once again be closely divided. A recent poll by Gallup found that 50% of Americans would not support a well-qualified “socialist” candidate for President from their own party, about twice as many as those who say they would oppose a well-qualified gay or evangelical candidate.

In the meantime, Clinton is trying to get back on offense in her own party. “I take a backseat to no one when you look at my record in standing up and fighting for progressive values,” she said, after speaking to a crowd of about 800 in New Hampshire. As she spoke, Sanders was addressing a crowd three times as large in Council Bluffs, Iowa.

Warren, who clearly intends to apply as much pressure as she can on Clinton, says with some coyness that it is “too early to say” whether she will join Sanders on the campaign trail. “Bernie’s out talking about the issues that the American people want to hear about,” she said on a swing through Worcester, Mass., on June 29.

But Sanders has left the invitation open. “I would love to have Elizabeth campaign with me,” he told *TIME*, after drawing about 8,000 people to a rally in Portland, Maine, on July 6. Those crowds, he said, are far beyond what he expected when he launched his campaign. “They are sending a message not to Hillary Clinton, not to Jeb Bush,” he said. “They are sending a message loud and clear to the people that own America, to the Big Money interests, that enough is enough. They cannot have it all.”

Among the faithful, the two of them have already united in a virtual ticket of sorts. Doug Emerson, a local artist, showed up at the Portland rally with a Sanders T-shirt and a handmade sign that read: THERE ARE ONLY TWO CHOICES AND ONE ISN’T ELIZABETH. “Any progressive wants Elizabeth Warren to run,” he explained. “But Bernie is the original Elizabeth.” —*With reporting by SAM FRIZELL/PORTLAND, MAINE, and ZEKE J. MILLER/HANOVER, N.H.* ◻

## ‘IT IS A BATTLE FOR THE SOUL OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY.’

BRUCE JOSTEN,  
U.S. Chamber of Commerce

# Reddit Reboots

By Matt Vella/San Francisco



PHOTOGRAPH BY MARK MAHANEY FOR TIME



A woman with long dark hair and glasses is sitting cross-legged on a light-colored wooden desk. She is wearing a dark jacket with white horizontal stripes and dark pants. The desk is cluttered with various items, including a small white mouse, a glass of water, a small white figurine of a Reddit alien, and a small sign that says "lisa-fu's porkicide". In the background, there is a framed picture of a Reddit alien on the wall, a poster that says "TO THE REDDITMOBILE", and a large window with a plant. A red speech bubble points to the text on the left, and another red speech bubble points to the text on the right.

Ten years ago,  
**two kids created**  
**the most**  
**interesting,**  
**unruly website**  
on the Internet.

Now Reddit  
is also **one of the**  
**most powerful.**  
Keeping it that  
way won't be  
easy.

Reddit co-founder and executive chairman Alexis Ohanian, center, and  
interim CEO Ellen Pao in the company's San Francisco headquarters

# If you stumbled onto Reddit some midsummer's morning, here's what you might have found on the self-styled “front page of the Internet”:

A local news article about Donald Trump's latest faux pas. A photo of several dozen people watching *Jaws* while floating on inner tubes. More than 2,600 comments parsing the question “When did you discover that you were hot?” An animated GIF of Shaq dunking a golf ball. And a video of a torpid cat ruining some poor woman's yoga practice. Obviously.

This is the kind of fare that makes Reddit.com the 10th most trafficked website in the U.S., eclipsing Netflix, Pinterest and the *New York Times*, according to Internet tracker Alexa. Its 164 million mostly young, mostly male users generated more than 7 billion page views in June, posting links and comments, then voting them up or down to surface the most thought-provoking, salacious or funny. Unlike other web aggregators such as BuzzFeed or ViralNova, Reddit is home to a community that routinely takes action in the real world. Often these campaigns have noble aims, like the successful 2014 drive to find one user's elderly father, who, ill and confused, had wandered off. Or the 2012 episode in which Reddit shut itself down in protest of proposed congressional legislation that many users felt violated the principles of a free Internet.

But sometimes they can be mean-spirited, bullying or dangerous, like the time Reddit users misidentified a man as the Boston Marathon bomber, fueling inaccurate media speculation and terrorizing his family in the process. (The man had disappeared before the bombing and, it was later discovered, had committed suicide.) Then there's the really dark side, threads like “Self Harm Pics” or “Cute Female Corpses,” both exactly as disturbing as they sound. “Reddit reflects the Internet, and the Internet reflects humanity,” says co-founder Alexis Ohanian. “Unfortunately, humanity is always going to have jerks.”

What some of those jerks do has more

influence on your daily media intake than you might think. There's a trickle-down effect to what's happening on Reddit: memes that take root there become blog posts, which become trending hashtags on Twitter, which become morning-television fodder, which become your mom's Facebook post and so on, snaking their way forward into our lives.

Founded a decade ago—making it roughly ancient in startup years—Reddit became a vital organ of the Internet in large part because as a unit of Advance Publications it was unencumbered by the demands of venture capitalists. The company was spun off in 2011 and late last year raised funds reportedly valuing it at \$500 million. Now it must decide whether to cast its lot with the Twitters and Facebooks of the world, by attempting to turn its huge and addicted audience into a captive-for-advertisers'-benefit one, or remain the barely commercial but wildly successful free-for-all that helps define current Internet culture.

Since late last year, Reddit has been run by Ohanian, 32, now the company's chairman, and interim CEO Ellen Pao, probably best known for her unsuccessful gender-discrimination lawsuit against venture-capital firm Kleiner Perkins

Caufield & Byers, which disrupted Silicon Valley like a meteor hitting a country barn. Over the past few months, the pair have banned “involuntary pornography,” bullying behavior and other unseemly content. “I want to get Reddit to 1 billion users,” says Ohanian. But that isn't likely to be easy, because Reddit is disposed to periodic crises—the latest of which came out of nowhere late on the evening of July 2, when some of the website's followers nearly brought the whole contraption down.

**REDDIT WAS CREATED BY** Ohanian and Steve Huffman. The two met as college freshmen at the University of Virginia. Huffman, who lived across the hall from Ohanian, expected a girl to show up when he saw the name Alexis on the opposite door. “My first memory of Alexis is disappointment,” he jokes. Huffman was a to-the-point computer-science type. Ohanian, who'd grown up an only child in Maryland tinkering with PCs, was the showman, cutting his teeth giving demonstrations in a local CompUSA. “Alexis is a bon vivant, and Steve's a little more serious,” says Sam Altman, a current Reddit board member who was one of the site's first 10 users and met its founders early on. “They were a very good complement to each other, and that was powerful.”

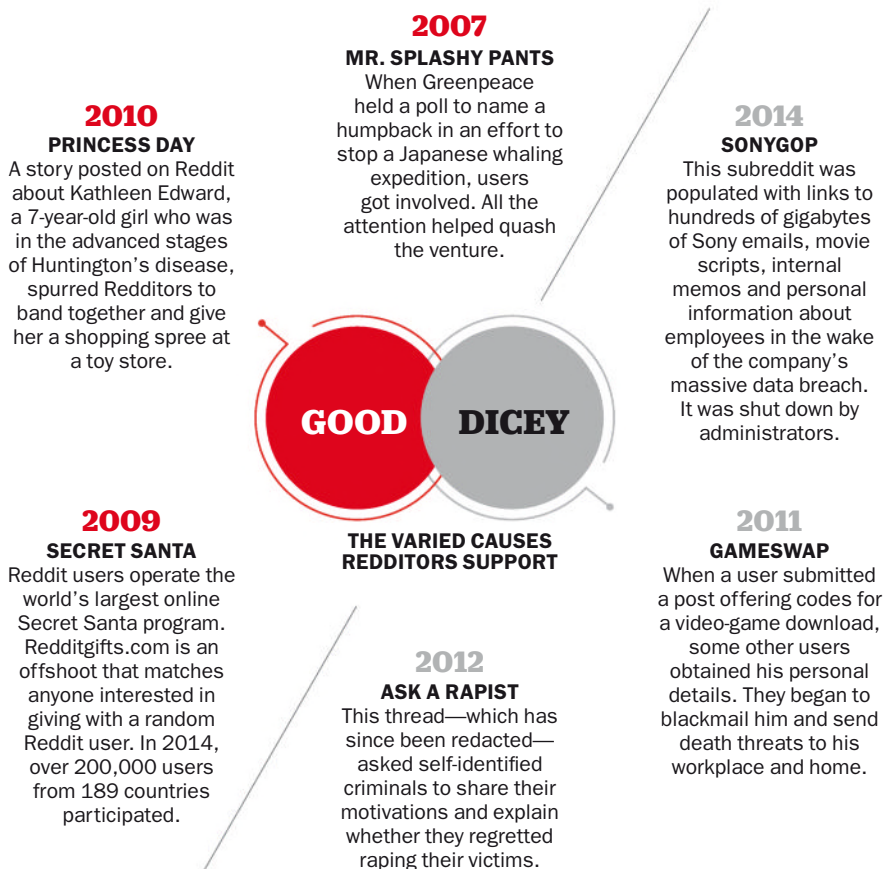
In 2005 their idea for a web aggregator in the mold of the then popular Del.icio.us got \$12,000 in seed funding as part of Y Combinator, an influential tech incubator founded the same year. After graduating, Ohanian and Huffman moved into a small two-bedroom apartment in Medford, a suburb of Boston. For the better part of a month, they rarely left the un-air-conditioned space, aside from the occasional pizza run. Every morning, Huffman and Ohanian would listen to the hit song of that summer, “Hollaback Girl” by Gwen Stefani, sit down at opposing monitors and work from 10 a.m. until 11 p.m. “Then we'd play *World of Warcraft* until 3 a.m. and start all over again the next day,” recalls Ohanian. Sometimes they took meetings in the kitchen for a change of scenery, Huffman notes.

Reddit—the name is a phonetic contraction, as in “I read it on”—launched on June 23, 2005. Unlike Wikipedia, which is strictly policed by a relatively small number of editors, Reddit is self-



A lot of Reddit's  
character, **light  
and dark,**  
comes from the  
anonymity of  
its users





governed: Users, or Redditors as they're called, can post links or threads on any topic, often consisting of stuff they collect or create themselves. Then others vote them up or down. The site relies to a large extent on the goodwill—and free labor—of the moderators who keep the community humming. Threads that generate the most up votes populate the site's front page, a reflection of the Internet's obsessions and interests at any given moment. There are more than 9,000 active subreddits, or single-topic communities, about everything from knitting (more contested territory than you might think) to photos of animals being jerks (pretty standard) to My Little Pony (bizarre).

A lot of Reddit's character, light and dark, comes from the anonymity of its users. Unlike Facebook, which moored us all online to our real identities, Redditors can talk about pretty much anything openly. That's why teens use it to discuss the difficulty of coming out, why it's a favored tool of dissident hackers and also why auto-body mechanics feel comfortable posting pictures of what their most

clueless customers have done to their cars through miscare. "I would argue, for a lot of people, their real identity is on Reddit," says Ohanian. "Reddit is going to continue growing because people are desperate for the authenticity that it allows."

Some of the site's most active communities include Ask Reddit, in which users pose open questions such as "What ideas hold society back?" and "What discontinued item do you miss the most?" These are often filled with poignant responses, sometimes thousands deep. Another is Ask Me Anything, or AMA for short, in which people of varied backgrounds answer questions from the audience. These have included the puppeteer behind Big Bird, a man with two penises and, in 2012, President Obama. These days Reddit is such a draw, it's likely to become an unavoidable whistle-stop during the 2016 presidential election, much as *The Daily Show* did a few cycles past.

There's something haphazard about all this success, because in 2006, some 18 months after founding the site, Huffman and Ohanian sold the company

to Advance Publications for an undisclosed sum, agreeing to stay on as part of the Condé Nast magazine empire's digital network. "The idea of becoming a millionaire at 23—I didn't want to live regretting that," says Ohanian.

But afterward Reddit entered a kind of fallow period. Though the number of users continued to steadily grow, Reddit never made the costly and painful transition to the mobile Internet. And the site's front page doesn't look radically different from how it did a decade ago. "There's no doubt the site took a meandering path," says Altman of this period. Reddit was still alive throughout the social-media boom, but it was effectively frozen in carbonite like Han Solo. Until last year.

**REDDIT'S NEW, POST-SPIN-OFF** offices are located in a nondescript brick building on New Montgomery Street in downtown San Francisco. There's no sign on the door, for "security purposes," I'm told. Inside, there's a large open space with several dozen young people quietly working behind big monitors. The walls are decorated with graffiti-style murals designed by local artists, some riffing on popular Reddit themes (robot chickens, trippy abstract patterns) or the site's alien mascot, nicknamed Snoo, derived from "what's new." "Our job now is to bring out the positive side of Reddit, the goodness of Reddit," says CEO Pao, who is sitting under a giant, tumbling illustration of Calvin and Hobbes with a speech bubble that reads, "It's morning, we can do stuff again!"

Pao, 45, is a controversial figure in Silicon Valley. The civil trial in which Pao alleged systematic gender bias after ending a sexual relationship with a Kleiner partner was closely followed and generated palpable soul-searching among technology companies about gender and racial bias. (She declines to comment on her appeal of the verdict, which is ongoing.) The stock photo commonly used alongside articles about the trial showed Pao arms crossed and tight-lipped. But in person she's warm and funny and smiles a lot, especially when trying to choose her words delicately.

Pao, who sits at a small desk in the middle of the floor, has poached executives from Facebook, Google and Snapchat, among others, to bulk up sales,

operations and especially engineering. To keep the site growing, she is planning to introduce Reddit's first mobile app later this year. Pao expects 90% of the site's traffic to come from mobile in the next two years, up from 45% today.

A bigger challenge is revenue. The company brought in just \$8.6 million from ads last year. Though a small number of dedicated users pay a \$3.99 monthly membership fee (Reddit won't say how many), the majority of revenue comes from advertising. Most of that is traditional ads, but Pao and her new head of sales, Zubair Jandali, are increasingly trying to get advertisers—Nissan and Marriott, among others—to use the site the way Redditors do, hosting conversations related to a particular topic.

Pao is also trying to guide Reddit through its periodic upheavals, like the one that helped make her CEO. In August 2014, Redditors posted naked pictures that were stolen from celebrities' Apple iCloud accounts. Though photos of victims like Jennifer Lawrence and Kate Upton first appeared on 4Chan, a subreddit called the Fappening became a hub for disseminating them. Administrators moved to shut the thread down but only after offering a confusing set of reasons.

Reddit's former CEO, Yishan Wong, was criticized for botching the site's response and left shortly after. Ohanian, who had left with Huffman in 2009 to help launch travel site Hipmunk, was called back in as chairman. Pao, who had been consulting with the company on partnerships and strategy, was installed as CEO. Her interim status is due, in part, to the emergency nature of her appointment. Altman, the board member who installed them both, thought the pair would work because Ohanian has a "founder's authority" with the community and Pao is equipped to make other hard choices.

A lot of those are likely to consist of policies such as the ones backed in May in the wake of the Fappening fracas. Reddit administrators began deleting abusive threads, including one centered on body shaming, as part of the site's new antiharassment policy. Retaliatory threads comparing Pao to Hitler and calling for her resignation quickly shot to the front of the Reddit home page. "It's the Internet," says Pao of the personal attacks, "and something I've been

**'We have no site without our users,' says Ohanian.  
'We're just the janitors here.'**

dealing with for a year. I just ignore it."

Ohanian adds that the bans are an attempt to protect Reddit on the whole: "We will do anything to preserve the ecosystem, and that type of [content] is a threat to the ecosystem." He describes the policies, more of which are likely in the future, as "scalpels" intended to excise only the worst behavior without impinging on the site's commitment to free speech. "Out of 170 million people, we're probably talking about fewer than 10,000 bad people."

Ohanian and Pao are trying to double down on the mainstream, even as the site's most avid users grow weary of change. To help make Reddit more accessible, they are launching a slate of original programming such as a weekly newsletter and a series of video AMAs. The first one features popular astrophysicist Neil deGrasse Tyson musing about which planet he'd most like to be painted on in the nude (Mars) and is scheduled to go on the site in July. All of this is aimed, says Pao, at "helping people understand what Reddit actually is."

**WHAT REDDIT ACTUALLY IS** was being hotly debated once again early this month as the site descended into yet another turn of chaos. After the surprise dismissal of a popular employee, Victoria Taylor, Reddit's director of talent and an AMA facilitator, on July 2, moderators revolted. In protest, they shut down more than 1,800 subreddits, according to a moderator who posted a list. For two days the site blinked on and off like a dying radio as Ohanian fielded questions online and made phone calls to moderators into the middle of the night. Google searches for "Reddit alternative," as one thread on the home page pointed out, spiked. An online petition

calling for Pao to resign quickly reached over 200,000 signatures.

Ultimately, Pao apologized. "We handled the transition in a way that caused some disruption," she says, "and we should have done a better job." But her apology seems unlikely to appease angry moderators. Writing in a July 8 *New York Times* op-ed, Brian Lynch and Courtne Swearingen, two Reddit moderators, argued that "Ms. Taylor's sudden termination is just the most recent example of management's making changes without thinking through what those changes might mean for the people who use the site on a daily basis." Though the site is more or less back to normal, the chorus of users calling for Pao's firing goes on.

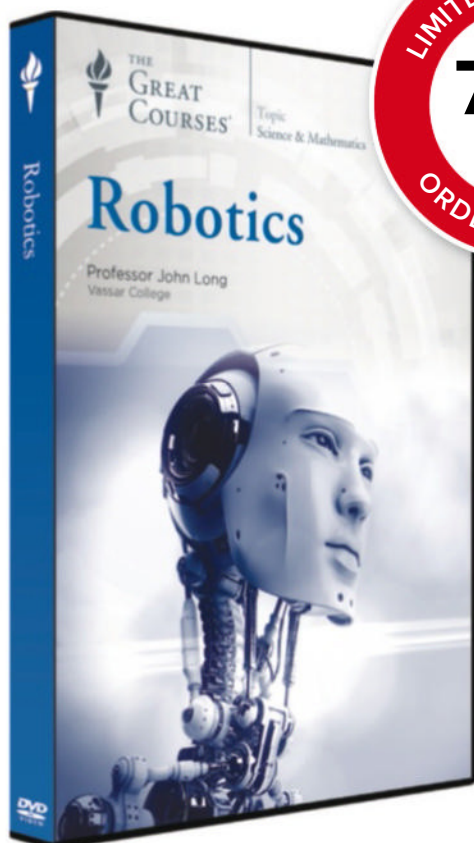
But the episode shows the unique and delicate position Reddit is in at the moment. Companies like Google, which early on trumpeted a "Don't be evil" motto, and Twitter, which originally billed itself as the "free-speech wing of the free-speech party," have had to make adjustments as their businesses grew and it became clear they were moneymaking ventures, not graduate-school theses.

Reddit, on the other hand, has to be seen by users as true to its ideals—or they may shut down the site in protest or leave altogether. What's more, the stakes of Reddit's principles are much greater than something vague like, "Don't be evil." For one, free speech is a more concrete idea. For another, the site's users are deeply invested in that idea and apparently willing to disrupt Reddit's operation in order to maintain their version of it.

In the relatively short history of the Internet there have been a number of influential sites that ultimately failed. MySpace, LiveJournal and the early social network Orkut come to mind. Some bombed as businesses, others collapsed as communities. The difference is that a great part of Reddit's appeal lies in its users' awareness of their own power. How it navigates its current turmoils is beside the point. What happens may show us how compatible near total free speech really is with the Internet, or at least the moneymaking part of the Internet.

None of this seems lost on Ohanian. "We have no site without our users," he says, smiling and waving his hand toward the rest of the Reddit offices. "We're just the janitors here."





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## Mercury

First  
encounter:  
1974

Distance  
from the sun  
(average):  
36 million miles

Noted mission:  
Mariner 10  
(1974) found  
temperatures  
ranging from  
-297°F to  
369°F

    
1 1 0

## Venus

1962

67 million miles

Findings from  
the Venus  
Express orbiter  
(2006) suggest  
that the planet  
has active  
volcanoes

    
9 7 14

## Mars

1965

142 million miles

The Spirit and  
Opportunity  
rovers (2004)  
found evidence  
of water in Mars'  
past

    
5 12 7

## Jupiter

1973

484 million miles

The Galileo  
orbiter (1995)  
provided the  
only direct  
observations of  
a comet hitting  
the planet

    
7 1 1

THE PATH TO

P L U T O

*After a nine-year journey, a NASA space probe is  
nearing one of the solar system's final frontiers*

By **MICHAEL D. LEMONICK**



## Saturn

1979

888 million miles

Voyager 1  
(1980) revealed  
that the rings  
have thousands  
of bands



## GRAND TOUR

Spacecraft have captured up-close images and scientific readings of all eight planets in our solar system—and now Pluto is about to be added. Here, a brief history of those encounters

## Uranus

1986

1.8 billion miles

Voyager 2 (1986)  
discovered a  
possible ocean of  
boiling water



## Neptune

1989

2.8 billion miles

Voyager 2 (1989)  
found an Earth-  
size dark spot;  
it was a storm  
with 1,500-m.p.h.  
winds



## Pluto

2015

3.7 billion miles

New Horizons  
(2015) will be  
the first vessel  
to study Pluto's  
environment



ALAN STERN was still a grad student at the University of Colorado back in 1989 when NASA's Voyager 2 space probe completed its grand tour of the outer solar system. Its sister ship Voyager 1 had gone before it, returning the first close-up images and scientific measurements of the giant planets Jupiter and Saturn, along with their moons. But then it veered off, and Voyager 2 went on alone to explore Uranus as well, and then Neptune, at the outer edge of the solar system. And with that remarkable feat, the first reconnaissance of our sun's planetary family was complete.

Except, of course, for Pluto. At the time, there simply wasn't enough fuel to get Voyager 2 there. Surely NASA's strategic vision included a later trip by a different ship to visit the tiny planet—and for the record, nobody doubted back then that it was a planet. But through failure of both will and wallet, NASA had no such plans. So a young Stern decided he'd

**KEY**  
 Flyby  
 Orbiter  
 Lander

NOTE: UNSUCCESSFUL MISSIONS ARE NOT COUNTED IN THE TALLY OF FLYBYS, ORBITERS AND LANDERS. LANDERS INCLUDE ATMOSPHERIC PROBES, IMPACT VESSELS AND ROVERS. SOME FLYBYS USED FOR GRAVITY ASSISTANCE ARE EXCLUDED.  
SOURCE: NASA

**NOT TO SCALE**

lead the charge to make a Pluto mission happen.

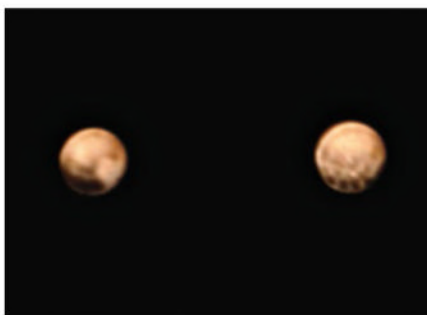
On July 14, more than a quarter-century later, his dream will finally be fulfilled. Around noon on that date, after a nine-year, 3 billion-mile journey, NASA's 1,000-lb., grand-piano-size, \$700 million New Horizons probe will streak past tiny Pluto at a blistering 31,000 m.p.h. The spacecraft is so remote now that radio communications—traveling at the speed of light—require a nearly nine-hour round-trip. Ultimately, New Horizons will come to within just 6,000 miles of the icy world, furiously snapping pictures and recording data on the temperature, structure and composition of Pluto, its five known moons and anything else that might be there—more moons, perhaps, or a system of rings.

But it's Pluto that's the real prize. The little world has intrigued astronomers since it was first discovered more than 85 years ago. Until Pluto showed up, all the outer planets were known to be gas giants. What was this pip-squeak doing out there all alone? What was it made of? Why did it even exist?

For a long time, those questions seemed destined to go unanswered. Stern and other scientists appealed to NASA a half-dozen times during the 1990s with one proposal after another for a Pluto mission. They trudged to and from conference rooms, armed with charts and graphs and spreadsheets, with technical specs demonstrating why this latest version of a Pluto plan would be better, faster and cheaper than the one before it. And each time, NASA said no—usually on the grounds of budgetary poverty.

"I was counseled many times by senior people to give it up," Stern says. "They said things like 'You have better things to do with your career' and 'There's a fine line between being in the groove and stuck in a rut.'" He ignored them.

Fortunately, he had a very nonscientific card to play: human sentiment. People just love Pluto. From the moment of its discovery in 1930 by Clyde Tombaugh, an Illinois farm boy who'd talked his way into a job at Arizona's Lowell Observatory even though he'd never been to college, the tiny world fired the public imagination. At first, it was known simply as New Planet, but it was soon given its familiar name at the suggestion of an 11-year-old



Early images of Pluto's two hemispheres from New Horizons. In the image at left, the spacecraft is approaching from above so the four spots at the equator appear to be at the bottom of the world

British girl named Venetia Burney, who thought the Roman god of the underworld nicely captured the feeling surrounding the dark and remote world. A few months later, Walt Disney capitalized on the public's fascination by naming Mickey Mouse's pet dog after the new planet. In 1955 the first Frisbee was marketed as the Pluto Platter.

In the decades after Pluto's discovery, better observations made it clear that the new world wasn't anywhere near the size of the 7,926-mile-diameter Earth but just 1,471 miles across, or smaller than the moon. And starting in the '90s, astronomers began to realize that Pluto isn't alone at all. It's merely the brightest member of an enormous swarm of ice-covered objects that make up what's known as the Kuiper Belt, which orbits the sun out beyond Neptune.

In 2000, that led Neil deGrasse Tyson, director of the Hayden Planetarium in New York City, to leave Pluto out of a display in the planetarium's newly renovated main gallery. And in 2006, the International Astronomical Union (IAU),

**The term planet, which was never defined before, was reframed in a way that was exquisitely designed to exclude Pluto**

the cosmic court of last appeal, agreed. With the discovery of many more Kuiper Belt objects (KBOs), some rivaling Pluto in size, the IAU realized it was faced with the possibility of a solar system that could include dozens of planets.

So the term *planet*, which had never been formally defined, was reframed in a way exquisitely tuned to exclude Pluto and its kin. Not only would something that aspired to be a planet have to orbit the sun and be spherical but it would also have to "clear its neighborhood" of any other bodies of similar size. Pluto failed that last test spectacularly and would thus be busted down to dwarf-planet status. Pluto lovers steamed.

"If those people had been around in 1610 when Galileo discovered there's an uncountable number of stars," grumbles Stern, now at the Southwest Research Institute, in Boulder, "they would have restricted it to a number you could remember."

**BUT WHILE PLUTO PARTISANS** lost that round, they had already won a much bigger one. In 2001, after Tyson booted Pluto from his main hall, an impromptu "Don't mess with Pluto" campaign began in astronomy circles. When NASA rejected yet another mission, Stern says, "we mounted an insurrection on every level from the press to little kids to the science community." He and his team lobbied Congress as well—and that same year, New Horizons got the final thumbs-up.

"You could tell even when we were in grad school together that it was Alan's destiny to make a Pluto mission happen," says MIT planetary scientist Richard Binzel, a member of the New Horizons team. "The project is lean and mean, and he runs it with incredible efficiency."

Tyson, who remains firmly opposed to granting Pluto the *planet* honorific, agrees and looks forward as eagerly as anyone to the spacecraft's encounter. "Alan and I are not always on the same side of the argument," he says, "but then that's what makes the frontier of any endeavor a vibrant place to be."

The very thing that reduced Pluto's official standing—the abundance of other KBOs—actually makes this endeavor even more tantalizing. We used to think there were two zones to the solar system: the rocky inner worlds and





the gaseous outer ones. “We now know there’s a third zone,” says Stern, “and Pluto is part of it.”

Given all of Pluto’s Kuiper Belt company, its surface is likely pocked with craters created when smaller KBOs slammed into it; a count of those craters could reveal the frequency of impacts and the sizes of the objects that made them, providing an indirect census of what’s actually in the Kuiper Belt.

Or maybe there won’t be many craters after all. That would suggest that Pluto, long assumed to be totally inert, is geologically active, with slush or even water erupting from underground to create a fresh surface every so often.

There’s also the mystery of how Pluto acquired the largest of its five known moons, Charon. Discovered in 1978, Charon is relatively big—about half the size of Pluto—leading some scientists to consider the pair a double-planet system, not a planet plus a moon. One possible explanation: a large body slammed into Pluto long ago, creating a debris cloud that coalesced to form Charon. Plane-

^  
*Alan Stern, principal investigator for the Pluto mission, spent years campaigning for it. NASA long balked, but Stern had a trump card to play: people love Pluto*

tary scientists think a similar scenario created Earth’s moon, which means New Horizons could help them understand the Earth-moon system better.

**THE OBSERVATIONS** that will yield these answers will be conducted by a suite of onboard instruments measuring Pluto’s atmosphere, surface chemistry, gravity field and more—all with a spacecraft only half the size, two-thirds the weight and about half the cost of Voyager 2 yet with far more powerful capabilities. “We’re going to a whole new world and to a new region of the solar system,” says Stern. “And we’re doing it with 21st century technology. I think it’s as sexy as it gets for a robotic spaceflight.”

But sexy doesn’t mean foolproof, and on July 6, New Horizons had a near death experience when NASA briefly lost con-

tact with the probe, a radio silence that lasted a heart-stopping hour and 21 minutes. The problem was caused by a timing anomaly in one of the spacecraft’s automatic commands—a command that fortunately won’t need to be repeated for any part of the Pluto encounter.

Whatever problems the spacecraft may have had will surely be forgotten once the pictures from New Horizons start flowing in. The images that have arrived so far are still blurry, but Pluto and Charon are already looking sharper than in anything seen before.

The latest surprise: four dark spots evenly spaced along Pluto’s equator, each about the size of Missouri. At closest approach, New Horizons will be able to spot objects as small as a football field, revealing details Tombaugh couldn’t have imagined. (Tombaugh died in 1997; at Stern’s insistence, some of his ashes are onboard New Horizons.)

Once the probe passes Pluto, it will pivot around and continue taking pictures and readings until it is out of range. New Horizons may then set its course for a 2018 or 2019 encounter with a second, smaller KBO. When that is done, the probe could last for decades, just like Voyagers 1 and 2, sending back data from the edge of the solar system.

With the encounter just days away, the New Horizons team has had plenty of time to think about the questions the mission may answer. What they’re more excited about is the possibility of ones they don’t even know enough to ask yet.

Back in 1993, Stern convened a group of planetary scientists to talk about what a mission to Pluto should look like. At dinner, he asked each of them to think of something that the still unnamed probe might find. They wrote their predictions on pieces of paper, then sealed them away. Most of what the scientists wrote concerned highly technical matters—the thermal structure of Pluto’s atmosphere or the mix of isotopes in the surface ice. All of the forecasts—technical and fanciful—will be unwrapped after the encounter and compared with what New Horizons actually finds.

On his paper, Stern simply wrote, “We’ll find something wonderful.” Predictions are not what he does, he explains. “My policy is ‘Let’s just go see what’s there.’”



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# Time Off

'A MURDER CASE NEVER TRULY ENDS, SOLVED OR NOT.' —PAGE 60

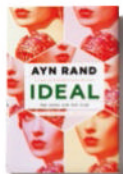


Rand was 21 when she moved to the U.S. Ten years later she published her first novel, *We the Living*

## BOOKS

### Ayn Rand's deadly, unpublished early novel illuminates—and unsettles

By Anne Heller



IN 1928, JUST TWO YEARS AFTER AYN Rand arrived in the U.S. from Soviet Russia and settled in Los Angeles, she scribbled diary notes in her brand-new language that formed a story she called *The Little Street*. Its protagonist, Danny Renahan, is modeled on a real-life Los Angeles murderer, 19-year-old William Hickman, who strangled and dismembered a girl in a kidnapping-for-ransom gone awry.

In her notebooks, Rand makes a hero of both Hickman and the fictional Renahan, who murders a church pastor instead of a child, and extols

the killers' beautiful souls, which rise and set without a trace of "social instinct or herd feeling." Of Hickman she writes, "A strong man can eventually trample society under his feet ... That boy was not strong enough." Meanwhile, Renahan "does not understand," she writes quite rapturously, "because he has no organ for understanding, the necessity, meaning, or importance of other people."

In the end, Rand's hero, like her most famous protagonists to come, is condemned to judgment by "fat, shabbily dressed," homely, insignificant, snickering, "boot-licking" onlookers and jurors, members of "the little street" and of "the human herds ... who have but one aim: to ruin all individuals and individuality."

These squalid American types,

#### ◀ FAR FROM IT

*Ideal*, a twisted murder mystery, is out in an edition paired with Rand's stage adaptation (*New American Library*; 256 pages)

based in part on Rand's reading of Nietzsche and Sinclair Lewis and in larger part on a Russian-Jewish horror of social and political majorities of any kind, filled her novels and essays until her death.

Rand went on to write two immensely and timelessly popular novels about rock-ribbed capitalist-individualist heroes who were strong enough, first *The Fountainhead* and then *Atlas Shrugged*. These novels have been cited as inspirational by Paul Ryan, Rand Paul and a number of their friends and funders. But few are familiar with *The Little Street*—or with *Ideal*, a previously unpublished novel that Rand wrote in 1934 that is close to it in spirit. *Ideal* explains much about what the late convert to conservatism Whittaker Chambers called Rand's "shrillness without reprieve," even in those of her books that celebrate human freedom. Rand hated ordinary people with a vengeance.

At 125 pages, *Ideal* is slightly longer than its 1936 stage adaptation. The story opens after the death of a bankrupted tycoon, found with a fatal gunshot wound on the floor of his mansion in Santa Barbara, Calif. Kay Gonda, a tall, thin, impossibly beautiful, universally revered screen idol, is believed to have shot him; after dining alone with him, she has fled into the night.

Where is she? If innocent, why has she disappeared? The police search, but it is the novel's lucky readers who find her. She is on a hallowed pilgrimage to test fans who have written to declare that she is their ideal and to swear that they would gladly die for her. She needs just one honest fan to shore her up; for three days, she drops into shacks, garrets and bungalows, asking avowed admirers for shelter and protection. The odyssey affords Rand an opportunity to censure some of her least favorite recurring characters: a henpecked husband (*Atlas Shrugged*'s Hank Rearden before Dagny), a cowardly chicken farmer (on Ventura Boulevard!), a false-hearted artist, an unctuous preacher (in the mold of the one Danny Renahan had to kill), a despairing male socialite and a misfit drifter named Johnnie Dawes who is the story's hero and a precursor to *The Fountainhead*'s Howard Roark. All but Johnnie conspire with authorities to betray their beloved Gonda for money, religion, dark sexual impulses or just the untroubled resumption

of their daily lives. Johnnie, who "sees too much of what is not," longs for more: to live as if in a temple, looking up at something much resembling Kay Gonda. Without giving away too much more of what happens here, suffice it to say that Rand goes on to demonstrate the aptness of one of her favorite Nietzschean maxims: "The noble soul has reverence for itself."

After the author's improbable commercial success with a creaky Broadway courtroom drama called *Night of January 16th*, and during the first wave of midcentury anti-communist fervor, she adapted *Ideal* into its familiar iteration as a play. That version replaces the novel's hypocritical preacher with a hypocritical communist labor organizer, who proves equally willing to betray his creed for gain. It's less fun to read than the novel, if possible, because dialogue was not Rand's strong suit.

What was? Unfamiliar ideas embedded in complicated, rollicking plots that hinge on the gradual unfolding of those ideas in her characters' fates. That was Rand's gift, and it is nowhere evident in *Ideal*.

What is evident is the "inflexibly self-righteous stance" that Chambers also noted in his famously bitter 1957 re-

view of *Atlas Shrugged*, "Big Sister Is Watching You," for *National Review*. The novel "supposes itself to be the bringer of a final revelation," he wrote. "Therefore, resistance to the Message cannot be tolerated because disagreement can never be merely honest, prudent, or just humanly fallible. [It] can only be willfully wicked." And wickedness is punishable by the murderous contempt of a Danny Renahan, the tainted idealism of a Johnnie Dawes or the empyreal indifference of a Kay Gonda.

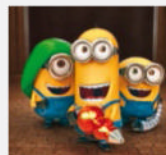
As Rand's biographer, I came to appreciate certain things about her: her willingness to persevere as an outsider; her hard work; her ferocious drive to formulate and articulate what—like them or not—were ideas, not dictums or even policy papers. Yet reading *Ideal* today, I can't help glimpsing Charleston gunman Dylann Roof and his lethal ilk in the undoubting fanaticism of Johnnie Dawes, and I am appalled.

*Heller is the author of Ayn Rand and the World She Made*

## TIME PICKS

## BOOKS

**As If: The Oral History of Clueless** by Jen Chaney (July 7) totally gives, like, an inside scoop on the Jane Austen-inspired '90s classic 20 years after its premiere.



## MOVIES

In **Minions** (July 10), the adorable henchmen from *Despicable Me* find an even more diabolical villain, voiced by Sandra Bullock.

## TELEVISION

**Masters of Sex**, Showtime's acclaimed drama about sex researchers Masters and Johnson, spices up summer with the addition of *The Good Wife*'s Josh Charles on July 12.

## MOVIES

The Amy Winehouse documentary **Amy** (July 3) unites interviews, home videos and media clips to show what led to the 27-year-old singer's tragic, booze-fueled demise in 2011.







## MOVIES

# Trainwreck slides just outside Amy Schumer's sweet spot

THE SUBJECT OF *TRAINWRECK* IS A PERSON, NOT A RAILWAY accident. The description is apt. The romantic comedy—much anticipated by the many fans of comedians Amy Schumer (who writes and stars) and Judd Apatow (who directs)—follows Schumer's fictional Amy, a 30-something woman barreling toward psychological disaster while disguised as a good-time girl content with a life of all sex, no strings and lots of booze. With the mantra "Monogamy isn't realistic" instilled in childhood by her less-than-ideal dad (Colin Quinn), Amy has settled into adulthood believing that her meaningless one-night stands are expressions of empowerment. And by day she's employed writing shallow stories for a coarse men's magazine. Watch Tilda Swinton in her mad, inspired turn as Amy's monstrously cynical editor and you'll understand all you need to about fears for the death of print.

Amy comes undone when she is assigned to write a profile of an accomplished, compassionate sports doctor who works with star athletes. His name is Aaron. He is charming, cute, quick-witted and unneurotically affectionate. Played with charm, cuteness and quick wits by *Saturday Night Live* MVP Bill Hader, Aaron messes with Amy's brittle world by mattering. She has not planned for feeling feelings; after all, she regularly mocks her younger, married, motherly sister Kim (Brie Larson) for all that boring normality.

Naturally love triumphs in the end, because for all the gimlet-eyed girl raunch we associate with Schumer's brilliant Comedy Central series, *Inside Amy Schumer*, and all the goofy man-boy raunch we have come to expect from Apatow productions like *Knocked Up* and *The 40-Year-Old Virgin*, this is a classic studio rom-com. Along the way, Amy does a lot of stuff

## SATURDAY NIGHT SPECIALS

Six former and current SNL cast members appear in *Trainwreck*: Bill Hader, Colin Quinn, Vanessa Bayer, Tim Meadows, Leslie Jones and Pete Davidson

*The Apatowian romance between Schumer and Hader plays out in typical rom-com conventions*

to mess things up before she is ready to consider a healthier lifestyle and the pleasures of a man who loves her, whom she loves back.

In between, the mighty basketball superstar LeBron James neatly assists with superb comic timing playing himself—if LeBron James is a mushy romantic who loves watching *Downton Abbey* and is allergic to picking up dinner tabs. As a layup bonus, Amar'e Stoudemire scores a few dramatic points, and those who track cameos will have fun spotting Daniel Radcliffe, Marisa Tomei, Chris Evert, a scattering of stand-up comics and 100-year-old stage, movie and *St. Elsewhere* TV star Norman Lloyd.

In the way of most Apatow films, *Trainwreck* is a little too long, a little too shaggy and a little too conservative in insisting that all's square in love and war. It's Schumer's script, to be sure, drawing on aspects of her past. But it is also her first feature-length work, and the gifted sketch artist with a radar finely tuned to feminine sexuality may have received distracting narrative and tonal guidance. On the one hand, Amy is a really unpleasant, selfish, at times willfully dumb woman who hurts men and women with equal, unfunny disregard. On the other, *Trainwreck* dwells lovingly and forgivingly on Amy's relationship with her father (who, like Schumer's, has MS and is divorced from her mother). He's a bigot, a womanizer and a boozier who insults everyone while assuring his daughter that her relationship with Aaron will never work.

All the screen time this uneven entertainment expends demonstrating Amy's compassion for her father could have been more profitably devoted to the glorious sight of Schumer stumbling around in the kind of unwearable high heels my sex insists on wearing. Or the joy of watching her dance in a show-capping number that reminds us how light on her feet she really is.

—LISA SCHWARZBAUM

## TELEVISION

## The luminous *Rectify* tells a freed inmate's tale with conviction

THE TYPICAL MURDER DRAMA WOULD BE MADDENING IF IT spent years without revealing who done it. There's a murder at the root of the wonderfully atypical *Rectify* (Season 3 begins July 9 on Sundance), yet it might threaten what's special about the show if it *did* solve the crime.

Daniel Holden (Aden Young) spent 19 years on the row for the murder of a teenage girl, when he was very young. He was freed by DNA evidence and returned to his family in their small Georgia hometown. But free is not the same as exonerated. Even sitting on a park bench with a book, Daniel feels compelled to apologize when a woman approaches the playground with her daughter.

We don't know whether he's guilty, either. The Daniel we meet, soft-spoken and tentative, might be an innocent man adjusting after 19 years of prison brutality. (A few locals connected to the case become nervous once Daniel is released.) He might be a quiet enigma with a dormant monster within. By the end of the first two seasons (available on Amazon, iTunes and Netflix), it's not clear whether even Daniel knows now, or whether he ever did.

*Rectify* is concerned with what we do know: that a murder case never truly ends, solved or not. Daniel's family is roiled once again by his release: the sister (Abigail Spencer) who fiercely defends him; the stepbrother (Clayne Crawford) who resents him; the mother (J. Smith-Cameron) straining to reconnect after two decades; the sister-in-law (Adelaide Clemens, in a transfixing performance) who reaches out to Daniel from Christian charity, then finds herself fighting romantic feelings toward him.

Everyone in this story is in an impossible situation; none, no matter how angry or spiteful, is painted as a villain. Creator Ray McKinnon has written a generous story, sweetened by luminous direction and Gabriel Mann's hypnotic score. The continuing murder case provides some plot drive, but *Rectify*'s investigation is spiritual: into forgiveness, grace, the holiness of moments in a finite life. As Daniel says, briefly overcome by being able to read under the blue sky, "It's almost too much." For *Rectify*, that little bit is just enough.

—JAMES PONIEWOZIK



Young is riveting as a former death-row inmate who returns to his small hometown with a big question still unanswered



## TELEVISION

## Denis Leary delivers rock of the aged

WHEN DENIS LEARY HIT BIG in the early '90s, he was as much rock star as comic: ranting in leather on MTV, taking the stage with a guitarist and a pack of smokes in *No Cure for Cancer*. So it makes sense that in his FX comedy *Sex&Drugs&Rock&Roll* (premiering July 16), he plays a rock star who hit big at the dawn of the Nirvana era. But the effect is less come-back tour than dad-band performance.

Here, the acerbic *Rescue Me* star is Johnny Rock, one-time lead singer of the fleetingly famous Heathens, now a has-been. His luck changes, sort of, when Gigi (Elizabeth Gillies), a daughter he didn't know he had, shows up with the idea, and the cash, to reunite the band—with herself as lead singer.

This sets up an old-man-meets-millennial comedy that feels cranky and creaky. There are jabs at David Bowie and Radiohead. There is an actual "Did I just say that out loud?" joke. In a show that leans so much on authenticity, the details feel off; the Heathens were meant to have been edgy in 1990 but sound more like a bar band.

There's potential for a sharp sitcom about a man who's stopped growing, if the writing didn't mostly share his arrested development. Johnny fancies himself a rock lion à la Mick or Keith. But the refrain *S&D&R&R* sings is "Hey! You! Get off of my lawn." —J.P.

Leary plays a grunge-era rocker gone to seed



## QUICK TALK

# Philip Glass

*With a memoir, Words Without Music, on shelves now and a new score to the superhero flick Fantastic Four out in August, the experimental composer, 78, is conquering as many fields as ever.*

—DANIEL D’ADDARIO

**Is it strange to be working toward someone else’s vision while writing a film score?** There are very talented people making movies. Why wouldn’t you want to work with very talented people? Is the downside that you might make some money? I won a Golden Globe [in 1999, for the soundtrack to *The Truman Show*—I did pretty well! I enjoyed it, I’m shameless about it, and it’s the only time I made real money.

**Are you competitive about prizes?** The big prizes—the Pulitzer Prize, MacArthur, whatever!—I never got those prizes. But the prize money wasn’t for people like me. It was for people who couldn’t manage otherwise.

**Did you want your children to become musicians?** When I was a kid, I took music lessons because my family thought that that was a sign of a good education. I didn’t give my kids music education so they could become musicians. I did it because the training, the habits of work—those are lifelong accomplishments.

**Do you think about your musical legacy?** It’s a useless topic to think about. No one can tell you, in 30 years, what people will be listening to. I can remember thinking as a very young man that composers like Schoenberg were going to be eternal. You don’t hear it anymore!

**Were you hesitant to write about your Buddhist faith?**

If I’m going to write a book, and people are going to read it, is there anything I can’t say? Other than not wanting to embarrass others, there isn’t anything I can’t talk about.



## PREVIOUS GIG

**GLASS DROVE CABS WHILE WRITING HIS OPERA EINSTEIN ON THE BEACH**

*“I could go on a music tour, then show back up at the garage. I always said I’d been visiting my mother.”*



*Miguel’s new album borrows from many genres*

## MUSIC

# For Miguel, the third time’s the charm

IN 2012 THE LOS ANGELES-BORN SINGER-songwriter Miguel released his sophomore album, *Kaleidoscope Dream*; it sounded both heady and full of heart. The hit single “Adorn,” a slow-burn come-on, tore up radio and positioned Miguel as a player in pop, alongside fellow alt-R&B crossover acts like Frank Ocean and the Weeknd. His third album, *Wildheart*, out now, is nominally an R&B album, but he’s savvy enough to know that inspiration can come from a record store’s least familiar corners. The reverb-swaddled “leaves” plays on California’s mythical lack of seasons, while “FLESH” takes the listener to Erotic City and back, with magnifying-mirror lyrics delivered in impressive falsetto.

Miguel has made such an impact on R&B—and, really, pop music as a whole—because of his willingness to be utterly himself. Take the bed-headed “Coffee,” in which he offers precise descriptions of the tiniest intimacies (“Peach color, moon glitters, the plot thickens/ As we laugh over shotguns and tongue kisses”). His love songs—and their sexier siblings, like “the valley”—twist and curve and shift the way that people do in heightened states. Then there’s “what’s normal anyway,” in which Miguel sings frankly about not fitting into boxes musically or racially as a half-black, half-Mexican-American artist. That defiance of categorization makes Miguel go in unexpected directions. On *Wildheart*, all those sharp turns make for a thrilling ride. —MAURA JOHNSTON



## 'I think I'm the best Hillary Clinton, to be honest.'

**HILLARY CLINTON**, when asked which of her SNL impersonators (Amy Poehler or Kate McKinnon) plays her best



In honor of the Islamic festival of Ramadan, Coca-Cola replaced its logo on cans in the Middle East with a **message to promote tolerance**: "Labels are for cans, not for people."



Melbourne granted planning approval for a 740-ft. (226 m) skyscraper featuring curves and bulges **inspired by "the music video for Beyoncé's 'Ghost,'"** according to Australian architecture firm Elenberg Fraser



**Malia Obama is reportedly interning** on the set of HBO's *Girls*



TIME'S WEEKLY TAKE ON

WHAT POPPED IN CULTURE

During an Aspen Ideas Festival conversation with Goldie Hawn, former Disney CEO Michael Eisner **complained that it's "impossible to find" beautiful, funny women in Hollywood**



A new app called Who Deleted Me allows Facebook users to **track who unfriends them**

MasterCard is testing technology that will allow customers to **verify their identity with a selfie**



Sealed Air, maker of the original bubble wrap, is **introducing a new version that doesn't pop**

**The Grateful Dead played their last-ever show**, setting an attendance record at Chicago's Soldier Field (with 71,000 fans). Here, a look at the band's career by the numbers:



**48**

Time, in minutes, the band spent playing "Dark Star" during a Rotterdam show in 1972

**2,297**

Total concerts played, according to setlist.fm, more than almost any other band

**31**

Main studio and contemporary live-recording albums

**35 million**

Total albums sold since 1967

**1**

Ice cream flavor named after a band member (Ben & Jerry's Cherry Garcia)

SKYSCRAPER: COURTESY OF FRAGRANCE GROUP; ELENBERG FRASER AND PONTILISM; SODA: COCA-COLA MIDDLE EAST; GETTY IMAGES (7)





THE AWESOME COLUMN

# My bank wants to know what my favorite color is, and ‘I don’t have one’ isn’t an option

By Joel Stein

IN A SANE SOCIETY, THE ONLY PEOPLE WITH PASSWORDS would be spies, military officials in charge of nuclear weapons and contestants on a game show called *Password*. In the 1950s, the average American had zero passwords, according to a study in *Totally Obvious Facts*. Nobody came home from a long day at Detroit Steel, walked over to his phonograph, punched in his password to play his LPs, punched in a second password to read his newspaper and punched in yet another password to access his sexual fantasies while pleasuring himself.

Which is why I invented a clever system to circumvent memorizing passwords: I hit “I forgot my password” every time I log on. This worked well until websites started to require that I remember responses to questions about myself that I apparently answered when I was huffing glue. City National Bank revamped its website and made me respond to eight different questions, which involved naming my favorite color, author, band, food, friend and TV show. I’m 43 years old. I don’t have favorite things. I merely have things I tolerate and things I accept. I typed in “Faulkner,” but if my bank woke me up in the middle of the night and asked me my favorite author, I might type “James Joyce” or “Thomas Pynchon” or, if I thought I had a chance with it, “Milan Kundera.”

**TO FIND OUT** who is responsible for this idiocy, I called LexisNexis Risk Solutions, which arranged a phone meeting with Kimberly Little Sutherland, its senior director of identity-management strategy. Little Sutherland, which is something I would strongly suggest not calling Donald or Kiefer Sutherland, said these “shared secret” questions became popular when social media made our moms’ maiden names and the streets we grew up on easily searchable. She agreed that it leads to a bad user experience: “One time it asked me what was my dream job, and it got me on the wrong day. I said ‘pastry chef,’ but three weeks later I thought it was ‘travel agent.’” Until right then, I had no idea how much it sucks to be a senior director of identity-management strategy.

If I already don’t have favorites, I can’t imagine how hard this is for old people. So I asked my 75-year-old dad how he deals with these questions. “I absolutely have favorites,” he said. “My favorite color is blue. My favorite band is Glenn Miller.” When I asked if he had a favorite author, however, he seemed stumped. “If I said Joel Stein, that would be a lie. Mark Twain. I could read his stuff over and over and laugh and laugh and laugh.” I was starting to think that a good secret question would be “Can your dad be a real jerk sometimes?”

To prove my point, he added, “Maybe you’re not a person of strong opinions.” This seemed ridiculous, since my chosen profession is columnist. But then my 6-year-old son Laszlo came home from his first day of camp furious that they had to go around and say their name and favorite food. “I can’t say,



‘All the foods in the whole world except for two foods,’” he said. When I took out a notebook and asked him his two non-favorite foods, he said, “Let’s not worry about which ones. You don’t need to write that down in your column.” Laszlo is more concerned about offending foods than my dad is about offending me.

Panicked that I had passed some identity defect on to Laszlo, I called Robert Sapolsky, a Stanford professor of neurological science who once wrote an article about how our tastes don’t change after 35. I asked him why mine had. He reassured me that it’s not that I stopped loving things but that none of our passions are all that real to begin with. “It’s pretty arbitrary what we had imprinted upon us when we were at our utterly open stage of life. It had to do with whatever girl we liked at the time,” he said. Then we stick to these faded identity markers because we have no replacements. “At our fragile middle age, we’re not capable of discovering a new band or type of food that suddenly makes us feel like ‘Now I’m the person I was planning to be.’ We’re focusing on getting our cholesterol levels down.”

The real problem is that the kind of people who write password questions are probably awkward 25-year-old IT guys with favorite *Star Wars* prequels. We need to replace them with middle-aged people who will ask for the real shared secrets we’d never put on social media: our LDL cholesterol numbers.

**Ronda Rousey** The mixed-martial-arts star and author of a new memoir talks about her judo-champion mom, post-Olympics depression and getting into acting

**In May *Sports Illustrated* called you “the world’s most dominant athlete” on its cover. Do you agree?** I think anyone considered for that kind of title would already think that they deserve it. You don’t wake up Thursday and suddenly think you’re the best in the world. You start off thinking that.

**You’re best known for your “armbar,” in which you pressure an opponent’s elbow, forcing her to tap out of a fight. What does applying an armbar feel like?** Exactly like ripping off a Thanksgiving turkey leg.

**You were an Olympic judoka trained by your mom, who won America’s first-ever judo world title in 1984. Did she really armbar you in your sleep?** Yeah, sometimes. I would have to be ready. It really helps with your confidence. A lot of people will get in your head, whereas I’m thinking I can beat this person right out of my sleep. I feel like the luckiest girl in the world right now to have a mom like that.

**After winning a bronze medal in judo at the 2008 Olympics, you fell into a depression before taking up mixed martial arts. What was the low point?** Living in my car. I literally sat in a bar alone and just tried to complain to random people walking by, like, “I’m a homeless Olympian.” I knew I was a loser at that point.

**Do you face sexism as a female athlete?** Well, people constantly ask me why I’m single. If I was a young, rich, successful 28-year-old guy, everyone would be like, “No doubt he’s single, he’s living the life, he’s living the dream.” But I’m single and everyone’s like, “Oh, what’s wrong with you, poor girl?”

**Caitlyn Jenner’s transition has brought more attention to transgender issues. Would you go up against a transgender fighter, like Fallon Fox?** I believe it’s one of the things that should be case by case and

up to a doctor. I’m no expert. But from whatever research I’ve been able to do, it seems that science has not reached the point where if you’ve already gone through puberty as a man, they can make it physically even for a man and a woman.

**Your acting career has also flourished: you appeared in the *Entourage* movie and have been featured in *Furious 7* and *The Expendables 3*. What’s harder, acting or being an MMA fighter?** MMA fighter, one hundred percent. Acting is just so much more lighthearted and fun. Whereas when I’m fighting, this is some f-cking serious sh-t about to go down. No one is laughing, no one is chitchatting, no one on their cell phone. Period.

**What’s the weirdest thing you eat while training for a fight?** I have, like, a tablespoon of psyllium husks or something. I have to mix it in water and drink it. It’s really high-fiber stuff that tastes like snot.

**Your opponent on Aug. 1, Bethe Correia, recently said that she hopes you don’t kill yourself if you lose; your father committed suicide when you were young. She apologized, saying she didn’t know about your dad. Does this still bother you?** I don’t believe her apology for one second. It’s entirely disingenuous, and I don’t accept it.

**You have said you love to be hated. Why?** It leaves room for error. If you’re the perfect little hero and you mess up, people find out that you’re not the perfect little hero. But if you’re the villain, the antihero, then your mistakes make you more complex and interesting.

—SEAN GREGORY

**‘I literally sat in a bar alone and just tried to complain to random people walking by, like, “I’m a homeless Olympian.”’**



JIM KEMPER—GETTY IMAGES



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